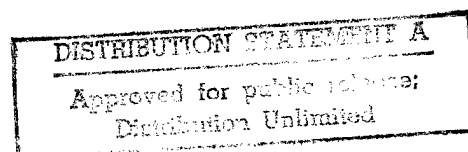


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East Europe Report



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21 January 1986

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COSTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL UPGRADING EXAMINED

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 43, 1985 p 3

[Article by Eng Alena Cerna, candidate of sciences, Economic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: "Ecologic Policy"]

[Excerpts] The growing pollution of the natural environment over the course of the extensive development of the Czechoslovak economy, which was characterized, among others, by the demands made upon natural resources and by extensive energy material waste products deposited in the most varied forms in the natural environment, reached such dimensions that its basic solution can no longer be put off. Pollution of the environment exerts an influence, through its socioeconomic effect, upon the entire reproduction process. On the input side it limits the availability of production resources, on the output side it lowers the standard of living of the populace.

The objective connection between the economy and the environment, and particularly the existing character of their integration, have resulted in the fact that the desirable quality of the natural environment with all its utilitarian functions no longer renews itself, that is to say, without the expenditure of social funds. As a result, the natural environment ceases to function as the mere condition of expanded reproduction and becomes one of the resources and factors involved in economic growth. The preservation of the utilitarian value of nature becomes dependent upon economic reproduction. It thus simultaneously takes on economic, value dimensions and its quality is numbered among the goals of socioeconomic development. The quality of the natural environment primarily influences the state of health of the population--this basic value of life and the basic needs of man. As a component and a natural substance of the life environment, it occupies an important and irreplaceable position in the broadly based esthetic needs of the populace. It is the foundation for the comfort of life. It becomes an ever more important condition and component of the standard of living. It appears as an additional, new need which must be satisfied by expanded reproduction.

In these connections, the high-quality natural environment figures, primarily with respect to its primary goal of supporting conditions for the development of a healthy populace, as the final social goal in the societal reproduction process.

For this reason, the renewal of the cleanliness of the natural environment, which is the basis of its entire quality, appears as an important instrumental economic goal.

The next 10 to 15 years will be a period of transition for the Czechoslovak economy to an intensive type of reproduction. In order for this period to become effective in terms of the national economy, it should, among others, result in a fundamental change in the development of ecologic problems: it should halt the growing trend toward pollution which exists up to now and other forms of violating the natural environment and should attain an improvement with respect to its quality. However, at the same time, we must be aware that pollution of the natural environment has already attained such a degree that even given gradual fulfillment of the goals to clean the air, water, and the quality of the soil, it can happen that the results of the cumulative effects of harmful materials from the previous period will show up in the economic sphere and in changes in nature as well as with respect to their negative effect upon the health of people, as late as the next period.

The results of analyses which evaluate the negative socioeconomic effects connected with the pollution of the natural environment, as well as the past ecological effect, are a convincing demonstration of the fact that it is no longer possible to support economic dynamics and balance at the expense of the balance of ecology. In other words, it cannot be permitted for the development of interaction between the economy and the natural environment to continue along its unaltered trajectory. The growing trend toward the dumping of energy-producing wastes, as well as the passive method of protecting the natural environment, which is based primarily on the supplemental building of facilities designed to capture and liquidate such wastes, is becoming intolerable. Such an approach toward the realization of ecologic goals is excessively expensive and, furthermore, does not remove the causes and the production of ecologic problems. To the extent to which this approach turns out to be a decisive direction of ecologic policy over the next 10 to 15 years, the fulfillment of the goals intended to halt the growth of pollution and to improve the cleanliness of the natural components of the life environment to the level it was prior to the 1970's, as well as the fulfillment of other goals of economic policy, would be threatened.

The above conclusion clearly emanates from the following, albeit simplified, economic consideration. It emanates from the present conceptual and prognostic studies which anticipate that, to attain the above-mentioned ecologic goals, the expenditure of a minimum of Kcs 150 billion of investment funds will be necessary by the year 2000. This anticipates that the average rate of growth of the national income will be 3 to 4 percent and the annual increment of overall investments 2 to 3 percent; the share of the required ecologic investments would rise from not quite 1 percent during the Seventh 5-Year Plan to 7 to 10 percent during the following three 5-year plans. This share does not substantially deviate from the recommendations of the United Nations, according to which the economies of developed countries should expend roughly 5 to 8 percent of their total investments on the protection of water, the air, and to eliminate wastes.

The unrealistic magnitude of the above requirements and approaches of ecologic policy is proven only by the comparison of incremental indicators. Given the above average rates of growth, the increment of overall investments would be roughly Kcs 3 to 6 billion per year. Compared to the required Kcs 9 billion of ecological investments, this would virtually mean the anticipation of a lowering of the reproduction process for the other spheres of the national economy and a threat to the transition toward an intensive type of reproduction process, since the introduction of scientific-technical progress and the majority of the substantial qualitative changes in the economy generally also requires supplemental funds. It is clear that this variant of ecologic policy, which obviously does not figure on substantial structural changes in the economy in the broader sense of the word, that is to say, including technical-technological changes with penetrating ecologic conservation effects, is unacceptable from the standpoint of fulfilling both ecologic goals as well as additional socioeconomic goals of our economic policy. It only stresses the fact that the ecologic problem cannot be solved in any other way except in close cooperation with the changes in the technical-technological and organizational management of the entire reproduction process. Not only through the construction of wastewater treatment facilities and separation facilities for emissions from electric power plants and other industrial facilities, but even by the systematic implementation of the long-term program of "ecologization" of our economy which, in harmony with the conclusions of the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ should be one of the characteristics of the strategy for making the transition toward an intensive form of economy.

Low-quality domestic brown coal is currently not only the decisive resource involved in the production of energy but also the principal source of air pollution through the emission of solid particles and of sulfur dioxide (80 percent) and, through contact, also becomes a source of contaminating water and the soil. As a result, it shares a considerable measure of the extensive damage involved in the pollution of the environment, whose quantifiable portion, according to calculations made by the Economic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, would increase the national economic expenditures for the production of electric power and steam power plants by a minimum of 45 percent. It can be said that the decline in the burning of domestic brown coal and its replacement through nuclear energy is the key problem involved in the cleanliness of the air in Czechoslovakia and, at the same time, one of the key problems of ecologic policy.

Current prognostications produced by the State Planning Commission already anticipate a decline in the extraction of brown coal, specifically to levels of about 90 percent of the 1985 level by the year 1995 and to a level of 82 percent of the 1985 level by the year 2000. One of the principal conditions is the maintenance of the planned decline in the energy intensiveness of the created national income (on an average by 2.1 percent per year) and the rate of growth of production pertaining to nuclear energy. If the intended decline in extraction of brown coal is realized, the emission of solid particles and the emission of sulfur dioxide will decline to such an extent that the international pledge will be fulfilled by 1995 roughly one-third and roughly 50 percent by the year 2000 without the expenditure of supplemental ecologic investments. This represents a significant contribution with respect to easing the pressure on distributing the limited investment resources.

However, we see that this structural change is still inadequate for the fulfillment of the overall ecologic goal. As long as additional qualitative changes do not occur in the economy, we cannot attain the above goal without supplemental funds. We are concerned that their extent is commensurate with the possibilities at the disposal of our economy and that the intentions of ecologic policy be kept within more realistic bounds.

According to macroeconomic estimates, it would be necessary given the gradual decline in the extraction of brown coal, to expend, by the year 1995-2000, roughly Kcs 15-10 billion for desulfurization, approximately Kcs 4.5-3 billion to trap particulate emissions, and around Kcs 25-29 billion for construction of wastewater treatment plants to lower and eliminate increments in released organic pollution (only in terms of the BSKs indicator). Cumulatively, this represents a requirement for supplemental ecologic investments of around Kcs 45 billion by the year 1995 and Kcs 42 billion by the year 2000. Compared to the above-mentioned variation (Kcs 150 billion), it is a requirement which is substantially lower--by about one-third. The extent to which it will be realistic emanates from further analysis.

Fulfillment of the goal set for 1995 represents an increment in ecologic investments of around 80-100 percent of the share of the contemplated total investments for the national economy. Taking the proposed plan for the Eighth 5-Year Plan into account, this increment would fall into the Ninth 5-Year Plan period. The increased investments planned for one 5-year plan period would most likely not be sufficient to cover these requirements. A more appropriate solution is, therefore, to slip the target dates for fulfilling ecologic goals (apart from the international commitment) to the year 2000. The increment in ecologic investments would then be 40-50 percent of the growth of overall investments. Even though this is still a high share, the 5-year sums already correspond to plan figures for the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The above analysis shows that the ecologic policy in Czechoslovakia during the period of transition toward a more intensive type of reproduction process will only be realistic and successful in the event that it proceed from the necessity to make qualitative changes in the economy and provided the ecologic criteria are consistently applied to stimulate the process of these changes. Under these conditions, we can expect that the economic intensity of the ecologic goals could be lowered and that a turnaround in the development of the ecologic problem might be attained. However, this does not mean that the need for pure ecologic investments will disappear completely. It is essential for these investments to acquire a supplemental character and for them to be economically tolerable with respect to development through their magnitude.

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CSO: 2400/76

ECONOMY

HUNGARY

OFFICIAL DISCUSSES INTEREST RATE ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian No 47, 21 Nov 85 p 5

[Interview with Dr Judit Misley, Head of the Department of Accounts at the National Saving Bank by P. Sz.: "Questions on Interest"]

[Text] The spirit of the modernization of the Hungarian banking system has apparently affected the National Savings Bank as well. The accounts on the refurbishing of condominiums and housing cooperatives have been paying interest since November, a pre-pension savings plan will be introduced next spring, and interest paid on the deposit for car purchases will be raised in all likelihood.

According to Dr Judit Mislay, head of the Department of Accounts at the National Savings Bank, these changes are not new, but a continuation of the modernization process, and she gave these examples.

[Answer] Independently of the banking reform, we have taken significant steps in the past 5 years to raise the interest on the public's deposits. It was in this framework that last year we introduced a 2-year deposit at a 6-percent, and a 3-year deposit at an 8-percent interest rate. Both have become popular very quickly. The reason is that in addition to the relatively high interest rate the accrued interest can be paid out at the end of the year. But we have raised the interest for savings certificates and savings accounts for young people as well.

[Question] Bonds are becoming more available to private parties as well. What kind of competition do bonds with their relatively high interest rate pose to you?

[Answer] We are participating in issuing bonds--the first bonds, i.e. gas bonds, were issued by the OTP -- but we do not plan to issue new bonds in the near future. Perhaps it is surprising, but on 30 September the amount of accounts paying interest was 2,733 billion forints higher than last year as a similar time period. This growth has resulted almost exclusively from the increase in accounts paying 8 percent interest. Many have discovered that a savings certificate paying 9 percent interest is more favorable than bonds

paying 11 percent, because with some bonds after the repayment schedule starts interest becomes progressively smaller, whereby a savings certificate pays compounded interest.

[Question] People who have figured this out benefit from it, but there are many people who do not sign up for an automobile because the deposit only pays 2-percent interest. If instead of the advance they decided on, say a 3-year deposit that pays 8-percent interest they can buy a used car cheaper even after paying a substantial additional charge.

[Answer] The public's demand for a higher interest rate on these deposits is fully justified. But we still do not have regulations about signing up for new cars. The rule currently in effect is an old decree by the Ministry of Domestic Commerce, and it only affects deposits on purchases in general. This is what has been applied to automobile accounts as well. Since 1960 the OTP took over from the Merkur Company the management of these deposits, and it pays 2-percent interest.

We have initiated on numerous occasions the increase of this interest, and our plan for regulations is waiting for approval by the Ministry of Finance. It would be premature to give details, but it seems likely that the interest rate will increase in line with the length of the deposit.

[Question] How big are the advances on car purchases handled by the OTP?

[Answer] According to the latest data we have 203,330 registrations, and this amounts to nearly 12.6 billion forints in value.

[Question] From 1 November a uniform 4 percent interest will be paid on deposits on condominiums and housing cooperatives. How does this regulation fit into the OTP's business policy?

[Answer] Until now we had different regulations for housing cooperatives and condominiums. The new ordinances that came into effect recently unify the regulations that affected the various housing communities, and they raise the interest that can be paid on accounts for refurbishing buildings.

[Question] What does a management account cover?

[Answer] Each month tenants in condominiums and housing cooperatives pay a certain sum into their account with a financial institution that covers maintenance and operational costs. This is facilitated by a management account that pays interest according to conditions of the transfer of accounts. The National Savings Bank approves of the proportionate part of the 4-percent annual interest based on monthly statements.

They are going to have an opportunity to tie down for a longer time period a fixed sum from their management account or other accounts for refurbishing. We pay 5-percent interest on a 1-year fixed account, 6 percent after 2 years, and 8 percent after 3 years. Naturally, if the money is taken out before maturity date, we do not pay interest for the sum taken out. There is a third

opportunity as well. A specified sum can be tied down in the form of a savings certificate, in denominations of 10,000, 20,000, and 50,000 forints, or in their multiples. Just as with savings certificates, this pays time-dependent interest, and after 6 years interest can reach 9 percent.

[Question] What happens if, due to unexpected expenditures (fixing the roof, sewer problems, etc.) tenants are forced to withdraw from their accounts early? Are they going to lose their interest?

[Answer] Just as you can break up a public savings certificate -- you can take out 5,000 forints and then savings certificates of two 20,000 and one 5,000 forints will keep earning interest -- the same practice will be followed in the case of condominiums and housing cooperatives. If a housing cooperative, for instance, needs 50,000 forints from its account of 200,000 forints, it can take the money out without penalty. It will get the interest earned for the 50,000 forints during the period of the deposit and the rest of the money will earn interest under unchanged conditions, without interruption.

[Question] How will the interested parties learn of these opportunities?

[Answer] Housing cooperative will not be notified directly, because we have agreed with SZOVOSZ that it will publish the agreed text and in this way it will reach every housing cooperative. And condominiums will receive a detailed notification with a detailed description from the Savings Bank.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

ENTERPRISE WORK ASSOCIATIONS AUTHORIZED IN COAL MINING

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Istvan Safran and Judit Kozma]

[Text] The Ministry of Industry--with the consent of the National Mining Superintendency and the Trade Union of Mine Workers--has recently advised the parties concerned that it will permit the mine workers, too, to organize enterprise work associations. It is assumed that a contributing factor in this decision was the recent meeting between Minister Laszlo Karolyi and the socialist brigades of the Mecsek coal mines. The hosts candidly informed section head that they expect and hope for improvement in working conditions and, at the same time, they asked for more adequate pay in return for their efforts.

More Money, More Coal

The tension underlying the miners' requests was caused by a series of instances where they were being called to task for below-quota production. This year's plan called for a production of 2.63 million tons--of which approximately 630,000 tons was budgeted for home heating--but their pro-rated achievements are far from promising. At the most recent balancing of the books, they were 100,000 tons behind.

The miners cannot be blamed. It is not their fault that there is not enough coal. At the Mecsek enterprise the number of mine workers has never been as low as in the last few months and the technique and technology they use cannot be called really up-to-date. Individual mine workers must take on ever growing work loads. In the first quarter of this year the individual pit worker took on eight extra shifts on the average. As a result, more and more miners complained of fatigue and an increasing number of them said: It doesn't pay to put in overtime in the mines. It is a fact, that the average straight pay is 500-600 forints per shift and 700-800 forints per shift in overtime. The differential of 200-300 forints has proved to be less and less of an incentive. Especially, knowing it for a fact that for the last several years no week went by without any able-bodied worker having to go down on his day off as well. Requests, calls, volunteering, holiday shift organizations... For sure, they performed honorably and worked honestly and without complaining. But lately there are fewer and fewer miners who can be convinced to take on extra work.

The mining enterprise situation has worsened in other respects as well. Payroll accounts gave the first clues. Since overtime shifts in each instance had to be charged against payroll, after a while they threatened to exhaust the extra production wage budget. Overtime shifts used up a considerable proportion of the whole year's payroll budget.

From this point of view it was just the right time for the Ministry of Industry to decide to let mine workers, too, organize enterprise work associations. The decision was relayed to the "field" by the managers. The reception was more than favorable. Company management and mine workers alike were quite happy. The workers felt they were finally getting decent wages to take home, while the enterprise became free of the restrictions imposed on it by low wage levels, as from now on it can pay entrepreneurial compensation which, under the rules and regulations, it may charge to expense.

Not Enough Miners

Wages, of course, are production related even for enterprise work associations. Average expected production per shift and per person is 7 tons of coal brought up to the surface, which gives the miner an increased income per shift of 1,200 forints. Just a reminder: for the same 7-ton production per shift in straight time the worker takes home 500-600 forints, while doing the exact same thing as a member of the enterprise work association, he can pocket twice that amount. The fact is, however, that enterprise work association earnings do not contribute to the pension fund nor count when the worker's mean earnings are calculated. It came as no surprise that within one month 155 work associations were formed and the coal mines' enterprise work associations can boast of a total membership of as many as 3620. Average production since the first of the year was 4.8 tons per shift, whereas hard working enterprise work association miners sent 9.4 tons to the surface in the month of October. Proof of the increased ambition to produce is the fact, that since the introduction of this incentive one fifth of the above mentioned 100,000-ton shortfall has already been made up.

As far as figures are concerned, they look good and seem quite favorable. But this does not necessarily mean, that by creating and fostering work associations either the Ministry of Industry or the Mecsek coal mines can reduce production related tensions. At the Mecsek enterprise 12,500 persons are presently employed, of whom 10,500 are manual workers, with 4,900 of the latter regularly working the pits. We cannot but salute their achievements and their bravery beyond the call of duty. But they, too, realize the dichotomy of their situation. Because it seems strange to have a system of remuneration under which two different rates apply to the same effort, depending on the "organization" the miner doing the work belongs to. If he sends up the 7 tons per shift in straight time, he gets just about half the money he can get as a member of the enterprise work association. This contradiction is quite evident even to those who, at the same time, are at the receiving end of this double standard situation.

Which way will the balance finally shift? According to spokesmen of the Mecsek coal mines, the worker has gained because he earns extra money, and

the enterprise has gained because it can provide more coal for the national economy--35,000 tons more in just the month of October--and the country's hunger for energy gets allayed.

Temporary Expedient

Coal production under the enterprise work association system? The news, to say the least, is astounding, since the rapidly deteriorating mining situation and excessive work load, stretching the miners' capacity to its limits, have been the subject of innumerable forums over the past few years. Now the enterprise work association system to boot?

Another curious thing is that the Trade Union of Mine Workers who, in their manifestations, have generally "accepted, but not supported" such boundless extra work, have now sanctioned the creation of enterprise work associations in the mining industry, thereby quasi-legalizing excessive work loads. How can this attitude be explained, how is one to understand the term of protection of the workers' best interests under such circumstances, and what kind of solution can one expect for an improvement in the mining situation? These are the questions we put to Laszlo Kovacs, Secretary General of the Trade Union of Mine Workers who, by the way--preparing for the upcoming trade union congress--is likely to be frequently confronted with such questions these days.

[Question] Miners, due to the particular circumstances of labor in the pits, have themselves for the longest time considered it impossible to have the enterprise work association system introduced into the mining industry. What has now triggered this turnabout?

[Answer] We have mixed feelings about the coal industry enterprise work associations. Work associations existed in mining enterprises in the past and achieved significant results in above-the-ground labor, maintenance and preparation. But we did not permit enterprise work associations in the actual production of coal. There is already too much extra work that causes considerable concern. It overloads the worker--there is, for example, a growing number of rehabilitees--it worsens the safety conditions in the mines and over-exploits the mines, jeopardizing future coal production. On the other hand, without the extra shifts, the mining industry these days would be unable to meet its commitments. And if this extra work is absolutely necessary and if a chance of earning extra money for extra work is given, then, in our opinion, the miners must not be deprived of the opportunity. However, this is a situation of expediency: if too many holidays play havoc with the payroll account, then the enterprises have simply no other means to remunerate extra production. Consequently, we are in favor of work associations in mining enterprises. Such associations have so far been organized at the coal mines of Mecsek and Dorog and more are planned at other locations. But I want to emphasize that we consider them strictly as expedients and permissible only as substitutes for overtime shifts, i.e., without creating excessive work load, which is already more than considerable. Moreover, with the strict proviso that safe working conditions must everywhere strictly be adhered to.

[Question] How long might this transitory period be? Central management of the Trade Union of Mine Workers decrees each year the proportion for the coming year's overtime production. Then those parameters are systematically exceeded and every year there is more and more overtime work. How can the trade union function as the protector of the miners' best interests under such conditions?

[Answer] The question is, how do we interpret the term, protection of interests. Although by now these things are of general public knowledge, let us remember the basic reasons for significant overtime production. The national economy's energy situation has, since the mid and late seventies, been exacting from the mining industry greater quantities than originally envisioned, and because of the required excess coal production there occurred a gradual shift in the balance between production and new field preparation. This, in itself, can only be remedied by overtime work. Besides, in the course of the last decade, labor in the pits has lost much of its former glamour. Top wages for mine work are a thing of the past, miners' housing conditions have worsened and the over-all social prestige of mine work has diminished. As a result there is a shortage in the mines of nearly three thousand miners, whose missing production can only be made up by a lot of overtime shifts.

Since it is of utmost importance for our national economy to have coal, we are forced to accept these extra shifts, but we believe that in the end we will be able to dispense with them. Although miners often voice their desire for better pay for extra work, when they descend into the pits on week ends and holidays, it is not solely for the money. The reason, at least to some extent, is not solely for the money. The reason, at least to some extent, is that they know that if they refuse to make this extra effort, there will not be enough fuel to heat people's homes, to run our industries and power plants. This willingness to make sacrifices is laudable--but you cannot build long-range energy plans on self-sacrifice. Therefore we believe that the basic function of the protection of the miners' best interests is to fight for the elimination of the causes.

Comprehensive Solution Needed

[Question] Isn't it a sign of the failure of exactly such efforts that this obvious bypass, namely work associations in mining enterprises, is being used?

[Answer] It certainly is a sign of contradictions. On the one hand, the miners are undoubtedly better off this way. On the other hand, it does not alleviate the tensions in the long run. But I would not talk of failure. In the last few years we have used every available forum to air the problems of the mining industry, we came up with plans and we developed new concepts. Our suggestions and initiatives didn't even fall on deaf ears. This is evident if we contemplate the problems, the solution to which was mandated by government decree in the 7th 5-Year Plan, and some of which come under the heading of payment of premium wages, improvement in housing construction, modernization of specialist and technician training, etc. Some basic

questions, however, have not yet been answered, some prerequisites are still missing before the mining industry is able to live up to our expectations. Our congress intends to devote much attention to these problems and that is why I would prefer not to delve into details at this point. But I must emphasize that a complex and comprehensive solution will have to be found for the improvement of the mining situation. And it isn't primarily a question of money--wages and investments--as we realize that the development of mining depends not only on demand, but on the given possibilities as well. But a decision must be made regarding the absolutely necessary levels of coal production, which should, in turn, determine the economic climate most propitious to mining, and set up the needed pre-conditions for it. And the sooner the better--so long as there still is something to make decisions about--before the shrinkage in the mining population becomes irreversible and before we miss our last chance to open much needed additional coal fields.

These are some of the same decisions we urgently demanded at the trade union elections and, in my opinion, the insistence on answers to these questions is today the most important task of those representing the miners' best interests. In this way we can restore the prestige of mining, the miners' faith in the viability of their trade and, at the same time, serve the best interests of our national economy and society as well.

12759/9435

CSO: 2500/103

ECONOMY

POLAND

JARUZELSKI MEETS WITH PTE LEADERS, DISCUSSES ECONOMIC REFORM

LD161423 Warsaw PAP in English 2009 GMT 15 Dec 85

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 15--Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with the newly elected authorities of the Polish Economic Society (PTE): The PTE board chairman Professor Zdzislaw Sadowski and the society's Honorary President Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski.

Professor Sadowski informed the PUWP CC first secretary of the outcome of the 14th National Congress of the PTE. Acting on behalf of the Polish economic milieu, the congress firmly supported the further consistent continuation of the economic reform, regarding it as an expedient condition to strengthen the national economy.

Professor Sadowski also expressed concern and disquiet over the phenomena hampering the processes of desirable transformations in creating economic and organizational conditions for economic improvement.

The participants in the meeting were of the opinion that Poland's socio-economic situation requires that the process of economic reforms be consistently put into practice, which takes increased participation of society. What is also necessary is tougher control by the party and the Sejm over the reform's implementation.

The discussants also stressed that the economic reform consists in creating a new quality of socialist production relations, since it is a socialist reform. What it is all about is to appropriately combine the principles of socialist social justice with group motivations for progress, innovativeness and effective economic management.

Addressing himself to the discussion, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed the party and state leadership's will to consistently continue the economic reform. He also pointed to various impediments in this road, both of objective and subjective character, and to the key problems and directions of activities aimed at the country's socio-economic development.

/6662

CSO: 2020/47

MILITARY

POLAND

CONCEPT, ORGANIZATION OF CIVIL DEFENSE REVIEWED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 6, Jun 85 pp 36-37

[Article by Major Dr. Zbigniew Konieczny: "Notion of Civil Defense and Organizational Structure of Civil Defense in Poland"]

[Text] Too little space is devoted in our publications to the issues of notions. This is incorrect, because the appropriate use of notions brings about their uniform interpretation, thus facilitating the communication of messages involving these notions.

The notions of civil defense and the organizational structure of civil defense are the ones we do not, as a rule, come across in publications. These notions are very often confused and used interchangeably.

The definition adopted in the 1st Additional Protocol of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 on protecting the victims of international armed conflicts may serve as a point of departure in our discussion of the notion of civil defense. We can accept this definition because it has been recognized by the international community and set forth in a document of international law.

According to the provisions of the protocol, "the definition of civil defense refers to carrying out all or certain humanitarian functions (...) aimed at protecting the civilian population against the danger of hostilities or natural disasters and overcoming their immediate consequences as well as securing the conditions necessary for survival." It follows from the above definition that:

1. Civil defense is a definite activity.
2. This activity can be complete or incomplete.
3. This activity is based on carrying out humanitarian functions.
4. The aim of this activity is to protect the civilian population.
5. The protection involves safeguards against the danger of hostilities or natural disasters and overcoming their consequences as well as securing the conditions necessary for survival.

Proceeding from the above we should note that these activities have certain peculiarities and scope. Their scope is restricted to the civilian population and is a segment of the effort undertaken within the framework of the defense system of the PRP. These activities are based on carrying out the functions narrowly defined by legal provisions. Therefore, these activities are not exclusively voluntary and spontaneous but rather organized and managed by certain state organs. The carrying out of these functions is also exacted by the state through compulsion. The functions of civil defense, being a segment of functions carried out within the framework of the defense system of the PRP, overlap with other functions of this system and form, together with them, the set of defense functions of the state.

Taking into account the discharge of all currently prescribed functions in the domain of civil defense in Poland, it can be suggested that the following definition of civil defense be adopted:

"Civil defense means humanitarian activities undertaken in an organized fashion with prior preparation within the framework of carrying out the functions of the defense system aimed at protecting the civilian population and necessary physical structures against the danger of hostilities, natural disasters and large-scale accidents and overcoming their immediate consequences."

We should distinguish between the notions of civil defense and of organizational structure of civil defense. The notion of organization may serve as the reference point for this part of our discussion. In its subjective meaning, an organization is a group of people striving to achieve a common goal through joint activities carried out at a definite location and point in time using the necessary implements under a joint management which coordinates these activities over all of their duration. An organization is primarily a dynamic phenomenon manifesting itself through a certain activity, as distinguished from the so-called static organization or organizational structure. The term "organizational structure" refers to the organizational layout and the arrangement of an organization as an object. Organizational structure is very often depicted by a graph and is thus a peculiar invention of sorts.

It follows from the above that by referring to "the organizational structure of civil defense" one does not refer to activities but rather to a certain static organizational image of people or groups of people who discharge certain civil defense responsibilities.

As is known, civil defense is an integral part of activity of the organs of state administration, social organizations and citizens. This, however, does not mean that all of the above-mentioned entities are embraced by the notion of the organizational structure of civil defense. Certain organs and institutions carrying out functions in the domain of civil defense do not belong in its organizational structure just because of that. By the same token, for example, we cannot classify a district court as an organ of state administration despite the fact that it is involved in certain administrative work. Therefore, only the organs and institutions whose main task is discharging civil defense responsibilities can be placed within the organizational structure of CD I Civil Defense I. Consequently, this notion should

refer to CD formations (the so-called CD forces) and commanding organs of the CD.

The CD formations are correctly defined as the basic organizational units of civil defense assigned to carrying out civil defense activities. There is a consensus among all authors as to this. However, the situation is worse with regard to the CD commanding organs. For example, the Sejm, the Council of Ministers and provincial defense committees are very often considered to be the commanding organs of CD. This is an obvious misunderstanding. Neither the actual activities of these organs nor the legal regulations provide any foundation for this approach to the issue. The Sejm and the Council of State are organs of state authority and do not cease to be so despite exerting a certain influence on the tasks and structure of CD through, for example, promulgating legal regulations. However, such activity has nothing to do with managing civil defense. Likewise, the Council of Ministers cannot be counted among the commanding organs of CD. By virtue of article 41, point 3 of the Constitution of the PRP, the Council of Ministers provide general guidance in the field of defense of the country and organization of the armed forces. While civil defense falls within this scope, it is still not the main field of activity of this organ. Likewise, a provincial defense committee is not a commanding organ of civil defense, since supervising the entirety of defense issued on the territory of the province, and not just civil defense, is its responsibility.

An answer to the question of which organs can be recognized as the commanding organs of CD is found in legal regulations. Only the organs which carry out actual supervision within the scope of civil defense exclusively can be recognized to be the commanding organs of CD. It is easy to notice that these are one-person organs endowed with the legal means of activity (supervision) and having the word "chief" in their name.

The chief of CD of the country and local CD organs, i.e. CD chiefs of provinces, cities, districts, gminas and cities-gminas, are among the commanding CD organs. The legal situation of ministers and chairmen of commissions and committees who are members of the Council of Ministers, as well as that of the managers (directors) of enterprises can cause certain doubts. Are they the commanding organs of CD? While these individuals do have certain supervisory responsibilities (for example, an enterprise manager has definite command responsibilities with regard to the CD formation), they still cannot be considered to be the CD commanding organs in light of current legal status. (Editorial note: however, the ministers of national defense, interior, justice, transportation and communications, the prosecutor general of the PRP, the chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television "Polskie Radio i Telewizja," chairman of the NBP I National Bank of Poland I and chairmen of other banks (article 6, paragraph 3 of the Resolution No. 191/83 of the Council of Ministers), who set the tasks for their subordinate enterprises are not such organs). Nor are the CD inspectorates the organs of civil defense. They are but one element of the executive apparatus of the CD commanding organs.

Let us note by way of generalization that the notion of organizational structure of civil defense denotes the mode of organizing individuals in order to carry out civil defense tasks.

The organizational structure of CD embraces the commanding organs of CD, their executive apparatus and CD formations.

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FINANCE MINISTER EXPLAINS 1986 BUDGET TO JOINT ASSEMBLY

LD110003 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Dec 85

[Excerpts] The 20th joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations of the Federal Assembly opened in Prague today, attended by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary and president of the republic. Vaclav Klement reports on its deliberations.

Jaromir Zak, federal minister of finance, then explained the draft state budget for 1986. When assessing the results of this year he said that, by the planned growth and increase in the efficiency of production, we have achieved a higher creation of resources, which has made it possible to increase personal and social consumption, to markedly lower indebtedness, to stabilize our currency and to contribute more efficiently to the solution of some problems in the production and nonproduction spheres. Minister Zak then went on to say:

[Begin recording] The proposed draft of the state budget, which is closely connected with the state plan and the other financial plans, safeguards all the tasks of the state, in the economic sphere as well as in the sphere of social consumption. The total of the state budget for next year is to reach almost KCS 360 billion, which represents, in comparison with the year 1985, a 4-5 percent increase of over KCS 15 billion. This growth reflects a higher dynamism in economic development, more demanding tasks for increasing efficiency, and more economic use of the created sources. About 16 percent of the state budget will be spent on financing needs of the economic sphere. In comparison with 1985, the subsidies granted to the economic organizations, will increase by KCS 5 billion. This increase reflects the growth of investments in the fuel, power, and transport branches which do not have sufficient resources of their own, an introduction of a new subsidy in forestry, solutions for ecological problems, higher expenditures to cover losses of the housing economy organizations, mass city transport, as well as higher subsidies for the price of heating for the population. The highest portion of the budgetary expenditure--almost 46 percent--is represented by noninvestment expenditure on education, health care, social security, culture, and other services and activities rendered to the population. The state budget also safeguards the necessary financial means for strengthening the defense and security of the state. Of principle significance for achieving the aims

which we are setting are the consistent implementation of the conclusions of the CEMA member states economic summit, the development of the socialist economic integration, and above all specialization and cooperation with the USSR. Perspectives and stability, as well as new and more efficient methods of this cooperation are pillars for a smooth running of our economy. At the same time, we are laying the main stress on the implementation of the program of long-term economic and scientific-technological cooperation with the USSR for the period of up to 2000 which was signed this year. [End recording]

After the addresses of Svatopluk Potac, federal deputy premier, and Jaromir Zak, minister of finance, the joint rapporteurs of the two chambers took the floor. Deputy Magdalena Vojtekova said that the Committees of the Chamber of the Nations voiced full support for the economic and social development goals for the next year, and in a critical and demanding way, adopted a viewpoint on the prerequisites which are being created for the plans and budget for the next 5-year plan. Regarding the experience of the deputies, she pointed to the fact that there are still shortcomings in the production of consumer goods of the type demanded by customers.

Deputy Jozef Belko, on behalf of the Committees of the Chamber of the People, praised the fact that the tasks, set in the budget to the central organs, are in harmony with the conclusions of the 15th and 16th sessions of the Party's Central Committee. He further stated that 228 deputies had taken part in the discussions in the committees and voiced 387 remarks, questions, and recommendations. They emphasized the solution of problems by increasing efficiency, economies, and the quality of all work with the aim of achieving a marked shift in implementing long-term strategy of the CPCZ economic and social policies.

A debate of the deputies on the government-sponsored draft bill on the state plan and budget of the Czechoslovak Federation for the coming year started in the conference hall early in the evening.

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CSO: 2400/128

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LEADERS ATTEND JOINT ASSEMBLY DEBATE ON 1986 BUDGET

LD110019 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 10 Dec 85

[Text] The 20th joint session of the Chamber of the People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly continues in Prague today with a debate on the draft government bills on the state plan and on the state budget for next year. It is being attended by Lubomir Strougal, federal prime minister, and other members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee--Peter Colotka, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, and Jozef Lenart; candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, Miloslav Hruskovic; secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee, Mikulas Beno, Frantisek Pitra, and Jindrich Polednik; member of the secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee, Marie Kabrhelova; and chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ, Jaroslav Hajn. Vice-premiers and ministers of the federal government and other officials are also present.

A contribution to the debate made by Vlastimil Barus, a Chamber of the People deputy, focused on ecological issues. He singled out the importance of the principles governing the state concept for the creation and protection of the living environment, rational use of natural resources, and their specific elaboration in the operational program for the protection and use of water, land, forests, and atmosphere.

Josef Andrs, a Chamber of Nations deputy, in his speech summed up the 5 years since the law on higher education came into effect and also spoke about the problems and long-range outlook for primary and secondary education. He called for the restoration of a written paper in the state doctorate examinations of post-graduates with which the committees for culture and education have also supported.

The speech delivered by Eva Kokavcova, a Chamber of the People deputy, was centered on questions concerning customer-supplier relations. The deputy also spoke about problems facing Czechoslovakia's foreign trade sector.

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CSO: 2400/128

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ARRESTS OF CSSR RELIGIOUS ACTIVISTS DESCRIBED

PM240925 Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Dec 85 p 3

[Dispatch by Waltraud Baryli: "Arrests in Catholic Circles"]

[Text] Vienna--The Czechoslovak authorities recently took new measures against Catholic circles, questioning around 40 people in southern Moravia. During searches the police seized books, religious works, and typewriters. Five people were arrested and will be charged with agitation against the state, according to a well informed source in Vienna.

During a search of the home of Pavel Dudr, a 40-year-old engineer from Gottwaldov, the police discovered a secret printing press where all the books and writings with a religious content were seized, as was a series of foreign newspapers, a typewriter, a printing press, and a photocopier. Mr Dudr was arrested and taken to the Brno-Bohunice prison. The same fate befell Jaromir Nemec, a 50-year-old technician, also from Gottwaldov, who is charged with printing and distributing "writings hostile to the state and to society."

One of his friends, Mr Jirina Benesova, a stenotypist at the Gottwaldov court, suspected of being the author of various protest letters, was also arrested and will be charged with "agitation" under paragraph 100 of the penal code. She faces a sentence of 5 years imprisonment. Two other Catholics, August Navratil (57 years old), from Lutopecny in southern Moravia, and Mrs Hermina Orechova (75 years old) were arrested for similar reasons. At the latter's home the police seized several copies of the magazine VZKRISENI, a religious publication aimed mainly at young people.

The people questioned also included Viktor Trstensky, a Slovak priest. During a search which lasted 5 hours the police seized a typewriter--the third--with which this 77-year-old priest had typed numerous letters to the Slovak press to protest the repressive measures taken against Czechoslovak Catholics. These letters were read with great interest in clandestine religious circles.

These new police moves against the Catholics are regarded in religious circles in Vienna and Prague as a reaction to the "renewal" of the church in Czechoslovakia which reached its height in the ceremonies held to mark the 1100th anniversary of the death of Saint Methodius. Last July some 200,000 believers took part in a pilgrimage to Velehrad, where the saint apparently died. Many Czechoslovak Catholics were encouraged by this impressive demonstration of the faith--at which government representatives were booed by the crowd--and are increasingly prepared to take risks to defend their religion.

After receiving this affront, the authorities began to organize their revenge back in October. Rudolf Chudy and Anton (Srholec), two Catholic priests who had led the pilgrims had their work permits withdrawn and are no longer able to carry out their ministry legally.

Czechoslovakia's small Jewish community--which contains some 16,000 members--is not escaping the government's close surveillance either. Desider Galsky, the community's president, was forced to give up the idea of running in the next elections, under pressure from the Prague authorities. He has led the community for 5 years and is to be replaced by somebody "more cooperative" with the authorities.

/9604

CSO: 2900/15

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

TRADE UNION COUNCIL RESOLUTION--The plenary session of the Czech Trade Union Council [TUC], meeting in Prague today, has been discussing the tasks of the trade unions in the Czech SR in implementing the plan for next year. The resolution which was adopted directs the Youth Union and trade union bodies to work jointly with the economic management to create conditions for socialist pledges to be made in the campaign to reduce materials costs by 0.5 percent, raise labor productivity by 1.0 percent, and substantially improve the quality of manufactured goods over and above the planned tasks for 1986. It calls for greater development of progressive forms of initiative which will contribute to promoting intensification factors, and to broadening the use of the Prague initiative aimed at bringing science and production closer together. The Czech TUC's resolution goes on to emphasize the importance of stepping up political and organizational work and trade union economic propaganda and mobilization to encourage the working people to fulfill, and, where desirable, to overfulfill, the tasks of next year's plan. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 20 Dec 85] /9604

TWO EARTH TREMORS--In Western Bohemia, at the foot of the Krusne Hory, two more earth tremors were recorded last night, making a total of nine since the beginning of the current month. Last night's intensity was almost 6 degrees on the macro-seismic 12 degree scale. Its epicenter was once again the As area in a triangle between the villages of Plesna, Skalna, and Luby near Cheb. All nine tremors have so far caused negligible damage. Seismic tremors of between 4 and 6 degrees of intensity have been recorded in this area since the 12th century. This year's tremors started exactly 20 days ago, and their intensity is being monitored by a restored seismic station, which was out of use for the past 29 years. Last night's earth tremor did not cause any injuries. [Summary] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 24 Dec 85] /9604

TALKS WITH FRG--Bonn/Prague, 20 Dec (DPA)--A further round of negotiations on the conclusion of an agreement with the CSSR on cooperation in environmental protection, which is already in the draft stage, took place in Prague at the level of departmental chiefs. The Federal Interior Ministry announced in Bonn on Friday after the 2-day talks that they centered mainly on drafting a working plan for an initial 2-year period of cooperation until 1988. The setting up of working groups on specific fields is planned in this connection. Federal Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU) said that the talks on the environment with the CSSR were being rigorously continued in order to "lay the foundations" for cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection at an early date by means of an agreement. The next round of talks is to take place in Duesseldorf from 17 to 19 February. [Text] [Hamburg DPA in German 0946 GMT 20 Dec 85] /9604

POLITICS

HUNGARY

NEGATIVE DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN EUROPE EXAMINED

General Situation, Hungary

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Oct 85 supplement pp 1,4

[Interview with Dr Peter Jozan, department chief of the Central Statistical Office: "Europe on the Wane"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Is there something wrong with the stork?
A population decline the size of which has never before been experienced in European history began during the past 2 decades. Fewer children are being born, there are more and more elderly people, and the number of inhabitants is decreasing. Alongside the arms race and environmental pollution, population decline is becoming the continent's social problem. What can be wrong with the stork?

According to data from the Central Statistical Office, the population of Hungary in 1980 was 10,713,000. More people were born than died. The difference between natural increase and decrease was +3,318. This meant a growth of 0.3 percent in the number of inhabitants.

In 1981 "the tables were turned": the number of inhabitants was 10,711,000, and the difference between natural increase and decrease was -1,867, a decline of 0.2 percent.

In 1984 the number of inhabitants was 10,657,000. The difference between natural increase and decrease was much more striking: -21,350. The number of live births was smaller, and the death rate was higher than in 1980. So in 4 years we went from an increase of 0.3 percent to a decline of 2.0 percent.

"What will the 'population plunge' lead to in our country?" many people ask, borrowing the phrase from the dictionary of political writer Gyula Fekete. We asked Dr Peter Jozan, department chief of the Central Statistical Office, for a response.

[Answer] It is true that this year we experienced a pickup in the number of births over last year, but it was such a slight increase that we have no reason

to draw optimistic conclusions about the population trend. The demographic forecasts in our country signal a further population decline until the turn of the century. The rate of decline will probably be somewhat smaller than previously predicted.

[Question] In the last analysis, are there too many of us, or too few? What would be the ideal number of inhabitants?

[Answer] In my opinion, the main problem of the Hungarian demographic situation today is not our population density. Demographic movements and population tendencies must be studied. Among demographers, by the way, there is no agreement on the estimation of an optimal number of inhabitants. It is no special cause for concern that today roughly 110 persons live per square kilometer in our land. We know of advanced countries--Holland, for example--where the population density is three times what it is here, and it causes no trouble in everyday life. At the opposite extreme, I could also cite an example in which socioeconomic life is rudimentary despite a low population density. Regarding our country, the experts and the politicians unequivocally agree: we do not consider it good if few children are born and if mortality is deplorably high among active males 40-50 years of age.

[Question] What can we say about Hungary's demographic situation on the basis of statistics?

[Answer] Low birthrate and fecundity have also become common in Western Europe. What distinguishes our fatherland from most of the advanced countries is our very high death rate. Diseases, suicides, and accidents reduce the population to a much greater degree than in most advanced countries. But suppressing tendencies to endanger oneself is not a question of demography or national health. It requires a very complex social therapy. Today in Europe a decline in the number of inhabitants is chiefly characteristic of the Federal Republic of Germany; elsewhere it has appeared only temporarily or not at all. On the other hand, mortality in the FRG is lower, and people are living longer: in general, women to about the age of 80, men 73-74. In Hungary, however, because of low fecundity and high mortality, we encounter an actual decline and, as the demographers put it, reproduction of the population is not guaranteed. It has been particularly noticeable since the mid-1960s that more and more middle-aged people are dying prematurely. Roughly twice as many men in their 40s and 50s are dying as they did 20 years ago. Such a deterioration is virtually unprecedented in countries with advanced health care.

[Question] What kind of tools does demography offer to combat this?

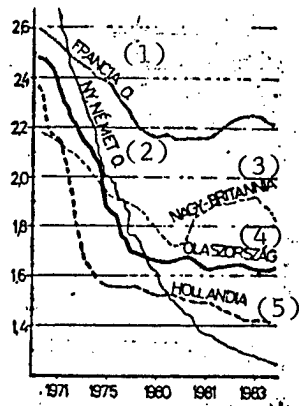
[Answer] It provides help for the elaboration of population-policy concepts, for example. These concepts have taken aim at increasing fecundity and reducing mortality. In addition to this, the state-sponsored measures of 1973 and 1981 sought to lessen the great differences between the numbers of individual generations. Invariably, the basic principle is voluntarism. It is a time-honored observation, namely, that government intervention in demographic processes is distinctly harmful and leads to no good in the long run. Yet we can and must make use of instruments of indirect influence. Included among them is the

<u>Country</u>	<u>Population in 1984</u> <u>(millions)</u>	<u>Likely Population in 2000</u> <u>(millions)</u>
Albania	2.8*	4.1
Algeria	21.4	36.4
Argentina	29.1	34.2
Bangladesh	99.6	159.8
Brazil	134.4	188.1
Bulgaria	8.9*	9.7
Canada	25.1	26.8
China	1034.5	1303.7
Czechoslovakia	15.4*	16.8
East Germany	16.7*	16.5
Egypt	47.0	65.8
Ethiopia	32.0	50.4
France	54.8	57.7
Great Britain	56.5	57.1
Hungary	10.7	10.9
India	746.4	1006.0
Indonesia	161.6	210.6
Iran	43.8	66.0
Italy	57.2	57.8
Japan	119.9	125.0
Kenya	19.4	37.1
Mexico	77.7	115.2
Morocco	23.6	37.3
Nigeria	88.1	150.1
North Korea	19.6	27.3
Peru	19.2	29.9
Poland	36.9	40.9
Romania	22.7	25.4
South Africa	31.7	49.6
South Korea	42.0	51.9
Spain	38.4	41.7
Turkey	50.2	70.4
Soviet Union	274.0	316.0
United States	236.3	268.0
Vietnam	58.3	78.3
West Germany	61.4	59.3
Yugoslavia	23.0	24.6

*1983 data

introduction of childcare establishments which--though they were and are criticized a lot--have attracted attention all over the world. Childcare remuneration is another such tool. We know that these incentives in themselves are not enough to improve the situation radically, but in view of the country's financial situation and the economy's productive capacity, they provide significant aid for those in need.

[Question] Nowadays it is not at all easy for young people to get started in life, and yet we expect them to shoulder the responsibility for three children. But how do they support these children, many people ask...



Average Number of Children
Per Woman of Childbearing Age

Key:

- (1) France
- (2) West Germany
- (3) Great Britain
- (4) Italy
- (5) Holland

[Answer] In practice, the two-child family is becoming more and more common in cities and villages here and in many advanced countries of Europe. Aside from a few social groups, this model has become prevalent in almost every stratum and group (in 1945, one-fourth of the children were the second-born in the family; today their proportion hovers around 40 percent). It is true that the population-growth policy recommends a three-child family. But today it is quite clear that this version is surrounded by unreasonable expectations. We should take into consideration that problems of a financial nature have multiplied, that the demands of the younger age classes have increased, and that the latter want a better life than that of their parents.

[Question] Quite a few people say that selfishness is on the increase in our time.

[Answer] I do not agree with that viewpoint. And it would be wrong to condemn young people for that reason. Population-growth policy will continue to prefer the acceptance of three children and to seek systematically functioning forms of support. But realistically we can only reckon with a model which people develop for themselves, i.e., which the social and economic conditions of the parents-to-be make possible. We must first and foremost change these conditions so that the extent of natural decrease is more modest than at present and so that more children are born in our country.

Situation in Socialist Countries

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Oct 85 supplement p 4

[Article: "Stork Threnody"]

[Text] According to all indications, the storks are more and more seldom visiting the socialist countries of Europe. The decline in the number of births has been of stunning proportions in recent decades. As Valentina Bodrova, a research worker at the demographic institute of the university of economic sciences in Moscow, stated at a world demography conference: in recent years, the East European countries have tried in vain to stimulate population growth by various means; their efforts have been accompanied by no particular success.

Soviet Union: Wave Troughs

The birthrate in the Soviet Union was 17.4 per thousand in 1970; 18.5 in 1981; and 20.1 in 1983. The increase can be ascribed mainly to a government decree according to which--starting in 1981--the mother was granted a 1-year maternity leave and 35 rubles per month in childcare support. Yet the Soviet experts still consider the rate of growth alarmingly slow, i.e., it is distributed disproportionately throughout the country: three or four children per family are born in the Asian republics, while in the European sections and in Siberia--where there is an urgent need for workers--the one-child family prevails.

Moreover, as an aftereffect of war losses, the country must periodically make allowance for recurrent demographic wave troughs. The most recent one appeared in the 1970s, and the next is making its effects felt right now.

Poland: More Elderly People

With regard to population growth and number of births, Poland has always stood among the frontrunners in Europe. Nevertheless, in 1969 and in 1974, resolutions had to be passed for stimulating interest in bearing children. The reason is that even the birthrate of 22.6 per thousand in 1960 showed a downward trend, and today the rate hovers around just 19 per thousand. The society is gradually growing old. So far this year, for example, 13,000 fewer children have been born--and 18,000 more persons have died--than last year. The experts believe that the mortality index has already reached a level which was not expected until the 1990s.

Romania: Big Family the Ideal

Just how much importance is attributed in Romanian society to improving the number of births is illustrated well by the fact that on several occasions the head of state himself has urged women to raise more children. Nicolae Ceausescu declared that this is a task for all society and that it would be ideal if every Romanian woman gave birth to three or four children. According to data from 1960, the birthrate in Romania was 19.1 per thousand, but only 17 per thousand in 1981. In 1966 a law was passed preventing surgical abortion. (Those who circumvent the statute receive severe punishment, and in order to prevent this Romanian women must turn up at intervals for an examination by a specialist.) At the 11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in 1974, a resolution was passed in favor of economic support for multichild families. The birthrate grew the year the measures were introduced, but the following year the statistical curve again tilted downward.

Bulgaria: to Build a Dam in Time

Here the birthrate was 17.8 per thousand in 1960, but less than 14 per thousand in 1982. In light of this, a resolution was adopted favoring financial support for multichild parents, and those who are willing to raise several children receive miscellaneous advantages. The measures went into effect this July and elicited a positive response throughout Bulgarian society.

Czechoslovakia: Comparative Stability

In 1960 the birthrate was 15.9 per thousand; by 1968 it had declined to 14.9 per thousand. Economic measures were taken in 1969 to increase interest in bearing children, and by 1976 the birthrate had grown. From then on, however, it started to decline again, and in 1982 it amounted to 15.2 per thousand. It is noteworthy that even this is higher than the 1968 rate but only 0.7 per thousand less than the 1960 rate. Will the comparative stability continue during the next few years? There is a growing concern that fewer children will be born in Bohemia than in Slovakia.

GDR: One Measure After Another

In 1960 the birthrate in the German Democratic Republic was 17.2 per thousand; in 1974 it plunged to 10.6 per thousand. (Instrumental in this was the 1972 repeal of a law prohibiting surgical abortion.) The government tried and tries to find a way out of this grave situation with one measure after another. Starting in 1977, for example, a 1-year so-called child-rearing leave was added to the maternity leave for a second child. As a result of the statutes, the birthrate surpassed 14.4 per thousand in 1982. Fourteen children per thousand inhabitants were born in the GDR in 1983, less than 10 per thousand in the FRG.

Historical Background

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Oct 85 supplement p 4

[Article: "From Moses to Malthus"]

[Text] The question of population growth has occupied the European cultural sphere for 2 millennia. The first "reproduce and proliferate" message is attributed to Moses, and in a peculiar way, during the time of existence of the Roman Empire, it found a politician in the age of Augustus, when the extension of several public-law or private-law benefits was made dependent on the number of children in the family. Christianity latched onto the guiding concept of a population increase from another standpoint. The pure principles were, of course, largely reinforced by the fact that during the second half of the Middle Ages, for instance, the perpetual warfare was coupled with gruesome epidemics of bubonic plague, smallpox, and syphilis, and so replacement of the population was accompanied by indisputable economic benefits. An interesting early example: King Louis XIV of France granted a tax exemption to those who married young and an annuity to those with 10 or more children.

Application of the settlement method to increase the number of inhabitants became common in Europe--and in Hungary as well--during this epoch. At the same time, the first demographic observations on population movement were recorded. At the close of the 16th century, for example, the Venetian envoy Botero noted that reproduction in the old cities was sluggish, in the new settlements brisk--and he explained the phenomenon by saying that the population had the procreative capacity but the nutritive powers were weak.

This concept in essence led Malthus to write an essay--considered to this very day a stumbling block of the special branch of science--according to which the

power to populate the earth is much greater than the forces hidden in the arable land, and so overpopulation leads to famine and universal catastrophe. The experiences and attainments of the 20th century have, of course, refuted the Malthusian thesis, but practically no thinker could shake off the influence of a few strange facts. Herbert Spencer, author of "The Decline of the West," believed--and this is a somewhat simplified formulation--that between the individual's intellectual development and the instruments of reproduction, in short, the social output, there is a conflict which fills the role of emergency brake against overreproduction. The growth of culture is accompanied by the lesser reproductive capacity of human beings. The biologically unprovable thesis was confirmed by a series of 20th century sociologists who agreed that an individualized married couple which enjoys a relatively high standard of living or aspires to such usually undertakes the rearing of fewer children.

It is extremely interesting to note that right up through the second third of the last century the birthrate rose dynamically in most European countries, and in the meantime--together with an increase in the average life span--the population grew to an extent never before known. This trend tapered off in the 1870s and 1880s, and in a few places--France, for example--an outright decrease in population occurred. The nadir of population growth in the European countries was during and after World War I, but statistics also indicate that the worldwide economic crisis left its mark on the birthrate, reducing it by several births per thousand. The military casualties of World War II wiped out a generation of fathers, mainly in Poland and the Soviet Union but in Hungary, too, and so the current generation of those 35-40 years of age is relatively small, as is the number of their children.

Experts working here and in other European countries can give no accurate explanation for the decline of the population indices. For lack of a better solution, we must probably resign ourselves to the fact that--alongside precisely measurable sociological and economic criteria--we are dealing with a sociopsychological force which is extremely difficult to perceive and which, for the time being, cannot be measured.

PHOTO CAPTION [Photo not reproduced]

A poster the height of two persons advertises not cosmetics, not some kind of life insurance, but offspring. The inscription in the lower right corner reads: France needs children. The number of births has fallen since 1971, and only the masses of immigrants have blocked a population decline. Former head of state Giscard d'Estaing recently claimed that "the country's identity is still endangered because the Africans do not know how to adapt themselves to our society, which is alien to them." Ultraconservative Jean-Marie Le Pen goes even further: according to him, it is first and foremost the immigrants who benefit from the various kinds of support given to large families; the proliferation of immigrants is brought about by these social-welfare subsidies, and so the latter should be granted only to Frenchmen. The advertising agency Avenir [Future] does not appeal to financial incentives but to the increased leisure time of prosperous families. Thus the poster's main headline: There is more to life than just sex. On the basis of successful advertisements for merchandise, explains the director of Avenir, we say to the consumers: "Look at this sweet baby. Do you like her? Then see to it that she is yours!"

POLITICS

POLAND

PARTY ACTIVITIES, PLENUM SESSIONS

PZPR Activities Calendar 10-27 Oct 85

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 6 Nov 85 p 21

[Text] Politburo Meetings

10 October--The Politburo: discussed the results of actions taken to combat dangerous social ills: alcoholism, social parasitism, drug abuse and the demoralization of minors;

--familiarized itself with the organizational state of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate and with the results of the inspectorate's assessment of housing allotment practices;

--examined the results of the party-state-public review of construction enterprises conducted in more than 500 firms.

15 October--The Politburo: familiarized itself with information on the course and results of Sejm elections. It was decided to submit recommendations made during the elections campaign at the 22nd KC [Central Committee] Plenum;

--examined and approved the directions for the strengthening and further development of the new system of operation of the national economy from 1986 through 1990 that were proposed by the government;

--familiarized itself with the results of the party-state-public review of the cellulose-paper industry, the printing industry and paper management initiated at the 18th KC Plenum.

Deliberations and Meetings

11 October--On the eve of the Polish Army Holiday, a ceremony was held at Belvedere awarding general's nominations to representatives of the Polish Army and the Citizens' Militia. Participants in the ceremony included: Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, KC first secretary, premier, head of the PRL Armed Forces, and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State. Also present were the following BP [Politburo] members: Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek, Tadeusz Porebski and Zbigniew Messner, KC secretaries, Army

General Florian Siwicki, General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak and Henryk Bednarski.

--A concert celebrating the Polish Army Holiday was held at the Dramatic Theater in Warsaw. The following members of the BP and KC Secretariat took part in the concert: Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek, Zbigniew Messner, Tadeusz Porebski, Marian Wozniak, Army Gen Florian Siwicki, Henryk Bednarski, CKR [Central Review Commission] Chairman Kazimierz Morawski and CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] Chairman Jerzy Urbanski.

16 October--The Presidium of the Central Review Commission deliberated. The results of the checks conducted by the CKR during the last period were discussed and approved. The CKR Presidium familiarized itself with the results of checks on: the implementation of the "Major Assumptions of PZPR Cadre Policy" adopted at the 13th KC Plenum;

--the utilization of budgetary funds designated for organizational purposes in the Central Committee and in PZPR provincial committees;

--the implementation of the resolutions of the 18th KC Plenum covering party tasks in the implementation of the CPR [National Annual Plan] in 1985;

--BP member, KC Secretary Jozef Czyrek met with a member of the KC BP of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Union of Writers of Afghanistan Dastagir Panjshaeri. Participants in the meeting included: Witold Nawrocki, director of the KC Culture Department, and Mohammad Farouq Karmand, Afghanistani ambassador.

17 October--The Executive Committee of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council deliberated in Warsaw. Participants included the chairmen of PRON provincial councils. KC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski took part in the meeting.

--BP member, KC Secretary Jozef Czyrek met at the headquarters of the PZPR KC with the chairmen of delegations taking part in the 21st conference of the writers of socialist states. KC Secretary Waldemar Swirgon and Witold Nawrocki, director of the KC Culture Department, took part in the meeting.

--KC Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in a meeting of a group of eminent scholars of Poland at which the development of learning and higher education during the 40 years following World War II was summarized.

18 October--KC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received a delegation from the National Commission of the Graduates of Soviet Academic Institutions. The occasion was the approaching all-Poland meeting of representatives of the group of over 12,000 Polish citizens that have completed studies in the USSR. KC Secretary Henryk Bednarski participated in the meeting. Stanislaw Wronski, chairman of the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] ZG [Main Board], was in attendance.

--On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Trade Union Publishing Institute, BP member, KC Secretary Tadeusz Porebski met with the leaders of

the institute. Director of the KC Sociovocational Department Stanislaw Gabrielski took part in the meeting.

--A meeting of the Supervisory Council of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" RSW [Worker's Cooperative Publishing House] was held. The council adopted plans for the development of its own phonographic record production as well as for the production and distribution of videocassettes. Likewise assumptions were discussed for the work of RSW in 1986. The deliberations were chaired by BP candidate member, KC Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

--At the Sejm building, a ceremony was held to award "Rodlo" medals to meritorious eminent defenders of Polish identity in the western and northern lands. Participants in the ceremony included Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the KC Cadre Policy Department, and Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the KC Sociovocational Department.

--BP candidate member, KC Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak met with Taiz Nasser, member of the national leadership of the BAAS Party in Syria, chairman of the Syrian-Polish Friendship Society, who was visiting Poland. M. Dackiewicz, deputy director of the KC Foreign Department, took part in the meeting.

20 October--At National Philharmonic Hall in Warsaw, a ceremony was held to award certificates to the prize winners of the 11th Chopin Competition; a concert also was given by the winners of the competition. Participants in the festive evening included members of the highest authorities led by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski.

--BP candidate member, KC Secretary Jan Glowczyk received Maria Luiza More, member of the editorial staff of the theoretical-political organ of the Communist Party of Cuba KC CUBA SOCIALISTA, in Poland at the invitation of NOWE DROGI.

21 October--KC Secretary Henryk Bednarski participated in a ceremonial meeting of the ZG [Main Board] of the Polish Teachers' Union held in conjunction with the 80th anniversary of the union's existence.

--The KC Youth Commission discussed the state of implementation of BP decisions concerning the further implementation of the Ninth KC Plenum Resolution "On Tasks in Work With Youth." The deliberations were chaired by BP member Tadeusz Czechowicz. KC Secretary Waldemar Swirgon also took part.

--Ceremonies associated with the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the POLONIA Society for Contact With Polonia Abroad took place in Warsaw. BP members Hieronim Kubiak and Marian Wozniak as well as KC Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in the celebration at the Royal Castle.

--The final meeting of the Social Committee for Building the Monument to "Those Fallen in the Service and Defense of People's Poland" was held. Those persons deserving special merit in the building of the monument were honored with certificates and medals.

BP member Albin Siwak took part in the meeting.

22-23 October--The Warsaw Pact States-Sides Political Advisory Committee held a conference in Sofia on friendship, cooperation and mutual aid. The Polish delegation was led by KC first secretary, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski. The group of delegates included: BP member, KC Secretary Jozef Czyrek, BP member, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner, BP member, Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski and BP candidate member, Minister of National Defense Florian Siwicki.

23 October--The KC Women's Commission and the Commission for Health Protection of the Populace and Environmental Protection discussed the status quo and the assumptions for the development of health care of rural mothers and children. The deliberations were chaired by commission chairpersons and BP members: Zofia Grzyb and Stanislaw Opalko.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of CHLOPSKA DROGA, a meeting of the editorial staff employees was held. The editorial staff banner was decorated with the Order of the Banner of Labor First Class and meritorious editorial staff employees were given state awards and medals honoring the 40th anniversary of the PRL. Participants in the meeting included KC Secretary Henryk Bednarski, KC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and Bogdan Jachacz, director of the KC Press, Radio and Television Department.

24 October--KC first secretary, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski received the chairman of the All-Poland Trade Union Understanding, Alfred Miodowicz. The meeting was part of a series of periodic meetings held on the topic of the most vital issues of national socioeconomic life.

--The KC Mining Commission concluded a 2-day field meeting in Katowice. A discussion was held on the conditions for the development of hard coal mining and on the fuel-energy balance of Poland through 1990. The deliberations were led by BP member Jerzy Romanik.

24-25 October--The KC Maritime Commission deliberated at a field meeting held in Gdansk. The status quo and developmental prospects of sea trading ports were discussed. The deliberations were chaired by BP candidate member Stanislaw Bejger. BP member Stanislaw Kalkus, KW [Provincial Committee] secretaries from the coastal provinces and representatives of the central administration also took part in the deliberations.

25 October--BP member, KC Secretary Jozef Czyrek and KC Secretary Henryk Bednarski received a Soviet delegation in Poland at the invitation of the minister of science and higher education. The delegation was led by Prof G. A. Jagodin, minister of higher education and vocational education of the USSR.

--KC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek met with a group of journalists, editors-in-chief of publications dealing with agricultural issues, from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary and the USSR, in Poland to celebrate the 40th anniversary of CHLOPSKA DROGA.

--At the headquarters of the PRL SD ZG [Main Board], a ceremony was held to award state honors to more than 100 distinguished journalists. KC Secretary Henryk Bednarski extended congratulations to the awardees.

27 October--At Jachraniec near Warsaw, a 2-day conference of the representatives of theory and social practice entitled "The Party--Trade Unions" concluded. Director of the KC Sociovocational Department Stanislaw Gabrielski took part in the conference.

In Echelons and Organizations

10 October--A joint plenum of the PZPR KW, the ZSL WK [Provincial Committee] and the SD WK was held in Bydgoszcz on the topic of the protection and the development of the natural environment.

--BP candidate member, KC Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak decorated the flag of the city of Walcz with the Officer's Cross of the Order of the Polish Rebirth.

14 October--BP member Hieronim Kubiak took part in the opening of the new academic year at the State Higher School of Theater in Krakow.

--In Lodz, the GDR Days of Culture were inaugurated with the opening of an exhibit of the artistic handiwork, graphics and painting of the Karl-Marx-Stadt district held at the Central Museum of the Textile Industry. BP member, Lodz Committee First Secretary Tadeusz Czechowicz took part in the ceremonies.

17 October--On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Slask-1 Water Power Plant, the enterprise banner was decorated with the Order of the Banner of Labor Second Class. BP member, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner and KC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek took part in the ceremonies.

--At the KAWECZYN Trolley Depot in Warsaw, a ceremony was held to bestow the Order of the Banner of Labor Second Class on the Municipal Transportation Plant. BP member, First Secretary of the Warsaw Committee Marian Wozniak decorated the plant with the banner.

--The main ceremony celebrating the Communications Workers' Day was a meeting of the employees of the Postal and Telecommunications District held in Poznan. Among the representatives of the political and state authorities in attendance was BP member Stanislaw Kalkus.

18 October--The KW in Poznan deliberated at a field meeting held at the H. Cegielski Metal Industry Plants Iron Foundry in Srem on strengthening the importance of the working class in the sociopolitical life of the province. BP members, KC Secretary Jozef Czyrek and Stanislaw Kalkus took part in the deliberations.

24 October--On the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Gdansk Postal and Telecommunications District, a commemorative meeting of the Communications Schools Group was held in Gdansk, during which the district banner was decorated with the Order of the Banner of Labor First Class. BP candidate member, First Secretary of the KW in Gdansk Stanislaw Bejger performed the ceremony.

26 October--The Professional Firefighters Brigade in Walbrzych was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Order of the Polish Rebirth. BP member Stanislaw Kalkus awarded the decoration.

Interparty Cooperation

--Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the Union of Yugoslavian Communists Central Committee Presidium, visited Poland. The guest was received by BP member, KC Secretary Jozef Czyrek. S. Stojanovic also met with BP candidate member, PZPR ANS [Social Sciences Academy] Rector Prof Marian Orzechowski and held a talk with Wlodzimierz Natorf, director of the KC Foreign Department.

7-11 October--A working delegation of the KPCz [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] KC Department of Agriculture, the Processing Industry and Water and Forestry Management, led by departmental Deputy Director Zdenek Hoffmann, visited Poland. The delegation was received by PZPR KC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

13-16 October--The Fifth Congress of the People's-Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea deliberated in Phnom Penh. A delegation from our party chaired by PZPR KC BP member Albin Siwak participated in the congress.

--BP member Albin Siwak visited Slovakia. At the Consulate General in Bratislava, he took part in a meeting of the social-party aktiv of Polish construction workers employed in Slovakia. He also visited a Polish work crew that was installing refrigeration in the town of Dunajska Streda.

25 October--BP member Albin Siwak, on a visit to Hungary, was received by BP member, MSZMP KC Secretary Miklos Ovarl. On this same day, A. Siwak met with Laszlo Gal, secretary of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions. A. Siwak met in Hungary with Polish workers and specialists employed in building a nuclear electrical power plant in the town of Paks.

--A study group from the KPF [French Communist Party] KC visited Poland. The delegation of French communists, which was visiting the coast, was received by BP candidate member, KW First Secretary in Gdansk Stanislaw Bejger. At the end of the visit, the delegation was received by BP member, KC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

--BP member, Lodz Committee First Secretary Tadeusz Czechowicz met with a study group from the Syrian BAAS Party that was visiting Lodz.

Gorzow PZPR Plenum on Elections, Market

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 24 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by: sc]

[Text] Employment and Work Time; Market Production; An Assessment of the Course of Sejm Elections

Yesterday the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board deliberated in Gorzow.

The UW [Provincial Office] Department of Employment and Social Affairs leadership participated in the meeting. The state of employment, phenomena arising in the labor market and the utilization of work time in the regional economy were discussed. The Executive Board was critical of the situation in this field, particularly with regard to the high fluctuation of cadres that has disorganized the labor market. The board likewise took note of the ineffectiveness of attempts made by economic unit management to rationalize employment, to make full use of manpower and to limit unwarranted absences that reduce the use of production potential.

In the recommendations and instructions that were adopted, the state and economic administration and plant POP's [Primary Party Organizations] were obliged to verify employment policy and principles and, above all, to streamline labor organization and conditions, to exact labor discipline, to implement effectively plant programs for worker sociovocational adaptation and to apply wage incentives systems more broadly. The involvement of IRCh verification teams in the issues of employment and the utilization of work time also was deemed advisable.

The Executive Board heard a report from the UW Department of Small-Scale Production and Services on the topic of the production and delivery of consumer goods by small-scale production units. Most subbranches have adapted effectively to the current economic and producer goods situation. Due to this, deliveries of consumer goods by labor cooperatives exceed last year's figures by 28 percent, deliveries by units under SPOLEM exceed last year's deliveries by 18 percent and deliveries by handicapped cooperatives top last year's figures by 41 percent. Such industrial plants as SILWANA, KORAL, the Kostrzyn Paper Plants and KOMES, as well as foreign enterprises operating within the province, also have increased considerably the production of consumer goods that are in demand.

The Executive Board stressed the importance of maintaining these favorable trends in restoring market stability within the region.

The final point of the deliberations was the adoption of an assessment of course of the PRL Sejm electoral campaign in the Gorzow Province and the approval of the assessment of the political-organizational and propaganda work that preceded the voting. The recommendations and tasks emanating from this assessment serving the implementation of the proposals voiced by citizens at pre-election meetings were approved.

Opole PZPR Plenum on Cultural Issues

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 31 Oct-3 Nov 85 pp 1, 3

[Report prepared by: Tadeusz Bednarczuk, Malgorzata Fedorowicz, Jan Plaskon and Jozef Szczupal]

[Excerpts] On Wednesday, 30 October 1985, the PZPR Provincial Committee deliberated in Opole at a plenary meeting devoted to the role of socialist culture in the development of the Opole region. The directors and secretaries of PZPR POP's [Primary Party Organizations] in artistic institutions, the heads of cultural dissemination centers and activists in the amateur artistic movement were invited to take part in the deliberations. Director of the PZPR KC Cultural Department Prof Witold Nawrocki and Chairman of the Opole WRN [Provincial People's Council] Mieczyslaw Rzepiela participated in the plenum.

Eugeniusz Brudkiewicz, KW [Provincial Committee] secretary, gave the report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee.

Next the discussion began. Participants in the discussion included: Jan Goczol, chairman of the ZLP [Union of Polish Writers] branch, editor-in-chief of the monthly OPOLE, deputy to the PRL Sejm; Pawel Kozerski, director of the Museum of the Slask Piasts in Brzeg; Franciszek Niestroj, POP first secretary at the ODRA Cement Plant, KW member; Danuta Szewc, chairwoman of the Rural Housewives' Circle in Grodzec; Marek Sobotta, chairman of the District Council of the Polish Students' Association; Jadwiga Drewicz, deputy chairperson of the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] ZW [Provincial Board], KW member; Jozef Piechota, chairman of the Provincial Trade Union Understanding, KW member; Eugenia Prazanowska, director of the City-Gmina Center for Culture in Biala; Bernard Walenski, TRYBUNA OPOLSKA journalist, member of the National Council for Culture; Mieczyslaw Stoklosa, first secretary of the PZPR KG [Gmina Committee] in Kamiennik, deputy member of the KW; Jozef Badek, first secretary of the PZPR KG in Strzelecckie; Tadeusz Soroczynski, secretary of the Opole Cultural-Educational Society; Michal Jaworski, director of the Provincial Office Department of Culture and Art; Jerzy Wojtczak, chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Provincial Board, KW member. Six discussants entered their speeches into the minutes of the deliberations.

It was certainly no accident that Jan Goczol's speech concerned culture-related issues that pertained not to our region alone, but extended far beyond its borders and delineated overall perspectives. The speaker made an important comment: economic conditions in Poland are still not the best and the times are perhaps not very favorable for us to bring up this set of issues. However, it is not the current situation that is the primary danger to the dissemination of cultural values and achievements, but the use of it as an alibi for our own weakness. It has become very popular of late to protect oneself by alleging profitability and financial gain. These are parochialist criteria that hamper actions taken to disseminate culture.

It has been 12 years since the last plenum devoted to this question. We have the same society, but not the same kind of society, said J. Goczol, and he posed the question: Do we really know how and in what way the society of our region is different than it was 12 years ago? He also voiced his opposition to the trashy, worthless and morally ambiguous positions appearing on cinema and television screens.

Such a meeting as a plenum is an opportunity to raise local problems, above all, in a general forum. Such questions are characteristic of every region, regardless of its position on the cultural map of Poland. They concern smaller towns in particular. They are primarily: the poor conditions in which cultural centers are housed, the lack of cadre, the lack of construction materials, problems with the purchase of audiovisual equipment and such seemingly prosaic questions as not enough food for the members of artistic groups.

The speeches of the next two discussants concerned questions related to the workers' culture. At present the situation is critical. Can it be otherwise when 80 percent of plant funds is used to supplement funding for vacations, summer camps and instructional camps, 10 percent is used for field trips and the paltry sum remaining goes for culture?

Why do we not go to the theater or to the philharmonic? Why does a person that lives near a cultural center avoid such centers of culture and others? [There were] attempts to answer such questions. In the first place, society, the consumer of cultural offerings, has changed. Thus, the array of proposals must change. Meanwhile, community clubs have become self-contained entities and the theater repertoire has become more complex, ignoring the fact that there are different kinds of consumers.

The sphere of culture likewise is the culture of behavior and customs. [I am shocked] by the behavior of young people in the parks, on the streets and in the movie theaters. Greenery is destroyed, vulgar advances are made and the language is uncensored. The speaker proposed that a campaign be waged for the purity of the mother tongue.

A representative of the student community also spoke out, [stating that]... the problem of a lack of a base and equipment cripples any sort of comprehensive program. He likewise stressed the need to open a student cultural center.

...the shortcomings of the cultural education of youth emanate from the overloaded study program that nonetheless devotes too little attention to culture. This applies particularly to the students of vocational schools that make up 78 percent of the young people in post-elementary schools. They only have contact with culture at classes in Polish language and history. They young people attend nonhumanistic schools, as a result of which our theater and philharmonic halls gleam with emptiness. [B. Walenski] noted the important role attributed to the development and dissemination of culture during the first years after World War II and how different things are today from that period.

Michal Jaworski, presenting the problems and achievements of Opole's culture, observed that its development is contingent currently not only upon state patronage, but that the authorities count on the support of various organizations, especially trade unions. The growth of the role of culture largely depends upon the consumers themselves that too often assume a passive role. Jozef Badek likewise noted this, adding that it should be the duty of the Opole WSP [Higher Pedagogical School] to prepare a pedagogical cadre that also is competent to do cultural work.

Tadeusz Soroczynski spoke of the role of social regional societies in the process of integrating Opole-area society. He asserted that despite the undeniable achievements of many societies, in some places problems exist with regard to the revitalization of this movement following the shock of the 1980's. This rift also reduced interest in culture in worker communities. Krystyn Mazur observed that despite obvious achievements, the artistic institutions at work in Opole ought to do much more to reach broad circles of working people.

At the end of the discussion, Prof Witold Nawrocki, director of the KC Cultural Department, took the floor. The plenum adopted a resolution defining the developmental directions of socialist culture in the Opole Province and the role of the provincial party echelon in implementing this cultural program. Eugeniusz Mroz, PZPR KW first secretary in Opole, summarized the deliberations and thanked invited guests for attending and for taking part.

The plenary deliberations of the PZPR KW concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

Gdansk PZPR Plenum Debates Activism Role

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Nov 85 pp 1, 5

[Article by Zbigniew Wrobel]

[Text] (Own Information). The systematic growth of the party's authority and its role has made possible the more and more effective resolution of the social and economic problems of the Gdansk Province and the more and more effective attainment of a soberminded, realistic attitude on the part of society to actions that are implemented, said the participants in a discussion held on 7 November at the plenary meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Gdansk. Prof Bronislaw Ratus, director of the PZPR KC Science and Education Department, participated in the deliberations that were chaired by Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the PZPR KC Politburo and party KW secretary in Gdansk. During the plenum assessments were made of the course of PRL Sejm elections in the province, after which the directions of tasks for primary organizations and party echelons for the near future were defined.

The discussants stated that a basic issue for the provincial party organization is to attend to the implementation of all approved recommendations of citizens. This is a duty for each PZPR element, above all for those comrades that hold positions in the state and economic administration with the party's recommendation. Shortcomings in the social-municipal sphere

that are of particular concern to society in the Gdansk Province must be eliminated. This applies in particular to housing. It was stressed that long-range solutions to the many current problems of the Coast should be considered in the "Gdansk-2000" program arising out of the party's initiative.

Participants in the discussion emphasized that the entire Gdansk party organization has embarked upon and is implementing actions aimed at increasing continually its internal ideopolitical strength and at expanding continually its influence in society. We must continue to increase the ability of primary organizations to perform a leadership role in the plant and to broaden the party's control function over the implementation of production tasks and enterprise cadre policy. Within the near future, activism and organizational effort likewise will have to focus on improving efficiency of action in political work, on increasing party discipline and on exacting the performance of individual tasks by PZPR members and candidates.

PZPR KC Commissions Meet

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Nov 85 p 2

[Article prepared by: "ter" based on PAP information]

[Text] On 11 November, deliberations of the PZPR KC Commissions were held. Members of the Science and Education Commission heard reports on the participation of the educational and higher educational communities in the Sejm elections and on the status quo of the party in higher schools. The commission likewise learned of the current state of work on executory documents for the new legal regulations on science and higher education. There also was discussion of a report on the implementation of the National Act for School Assistance. One of the major topics discussed by the Commission for Citizens' Complaints, Recommendations and Signals was the implementation of tasks emanating from the Ninth KC Plenum Resolution by provincial echelons in Lublin, Szczecin, Tarnobrzeg and Wroclaw.

The Social Policy Commission, deliberating under the chairmanship of Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and PZPR KC secretary, examined the CPR [National Annual Plan] draft plan for 1986 in the field of price-wage policy, employment and living and working conditions. The Commission for Laws and Observance of the Law evaluated positively the signs of improvement of the sociopolitical situation in the legal community. The deliberations were conducted by Lucjan Czubinski, deputy chairman of the commission and deputy minister for internal affairs.

At a meeting of the Agricultural Commission, questions of the current farming situation taking into consideration the assumptions of the CPR for 1986, issues of the status quo and implementation of reclamation and rural water supply capital spending projects and assumptions for new legal and organizational solutions in the area of farmland management were discussed. Stefan Zawodzinski, director of the KC Agricultural Department, took part in the deliberations, which were chaired by Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR KC secretary.

ZSL Executive Committee Presidium

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Nov 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] At a meeting held on 11 November, the ZSL NK Presidium assessed Poland's sociopolitical and economic situation, giving special consideration to rural areas. Issues related to the next Sejm meeting were discussed.

The NK Presidium expressed its recognition to NK Chairman Roman Malinowski for his work as government deputy premier. It was stressed that his devotion to the supreme interests of the nation and People's Poland, his commitment to strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and the coalition method of exercising authority and his commitment to the struggle over the rightful interests of rural areas, agriculture and the food economy have earned him unquestionable authority not only in the party, but likewise throughout all of Polish society.

Assessments were made of the CPR draft plan for 1986, with special attention being given to agriculture and the food economy. The following are the basic goals in the draft plan for the coming year: the achievement of significant improvement in management efficiency, the strengthening of economic stability and the ensuring of improved living conditions for the populace. It was stressed that the implementation of these goals requires an improvement in economic reform solutions, particularly an increase in the effectiveness of economic mechanisms, as well as decisive actions in the economic sphere to restore market stability and curb inflation. Developmental exigencies necessitate the stepping up of the processes of restructuring the economy. The investment process in particular should be subordinated to this goal. The NK Presidium took a positive stance to the envisaged increase in investment outlays in agriculture, and especially in the food industry, an increase that exceeds that of other sectors.

The NK Presidium, speaking out consistently in favor of the facilitation of Poland's food self-sufficiency, recognized that it is necessary to ensure in the plan the indispensable deliveries of the means of production particularly those of a harvest-producing nature. The implementation of this goal also requires stepped-up deliveries of coal, liquid fuels and construction materials for rural areas and agriculture.

The complete implementation of a program of farmland reclamation is becoming an important issue. Everything possible must be done to make the volumes envisaged in the CPR draft plan the program minimum that scarcely will offset inevitable losses.

The NK Presidium ordered party provincial committees to create political conditions favoring the implementation of the CPR when it has been passed, particularly its sections on agriculture and the food economy.

Materials for the Ninth NK Plenary Meeting devoted to the assessment of the state and results of the implementation of economic reform in the food complex were examined. A decision was made to call the Ninth NK Plenum for 10 December 1985.

SD CC Presidium

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Nov 85 p 2

[Text] On 11 November, the SD CC Presidium discussed issues related to the second meeting of the Sejm's ninth term. It became familiar with the results of the meeting of the Central Commission for PZPR, ZSL and SD Cooperation.

The presidium adopted the party position regarding the Third Congress of Polish Science. The position states that the congress should become a plane for the exchange of ideas on the topic of the development of Polish science in general and a plane for the integration of Polish scientific communities. The most important task in Poland's current situation should be the outlining of the strategic goals of science related to the sphere of socioeconomic life.

Polish science must be markedly political of its support of all actions aimed at overcoming developmental difficulties. The effectiveness of scientific research and applications must be improved. The future of our economy will be decided in the sphere of scientific organization and modern technology. The belief was expressed that the Third Congress of Polish Science should provide an answer to basic questions of Polish science: how to make full use of the existing achievements of Polish science and its intellectual potential to serve Poland's needs and how to bridge the gap between Polish science and world science, as well as how to keep up with its development.

Recommendations were made for a program of actions to develop the cultural-civilizational sphere and to structure its development over the near future, as well as for a program utilizing Poland's intellectual potential. These programs should constitute an integral part of a general strategy for renewing political, social and economic life while taking maximum consideration of solutions for the future.

The presidium approved a report on efforts made regarding a program for the development of small-scale production and services through 1990.

It likewise became familiar with the National Annual Plan draft plan for 1986.

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CSO: 2600/130

POLITICS

ROMANIA

PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S MESSAGE TO FAO REPORTED

AU141759 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1711 GMT 14 Nov 85

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Nov (AGERPRES)--In the message addressed to the general conference of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) on the 40th foundation anniversary of this organization, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania points out that "Romania's participation in FAO activities is part of its general policy of peace and collaboration with all the states of the world." The Romanian head of state reiterates Romania's resolve to further make an active contribution to the good unfolding of FAO activities, to the enhancement of its role within peoples' general efforts for the eradication of famine, poverty and underdevelopment, the establishment of a new international economic order, for progress and peace throughout the world. He is for the enhancement of the role of the UN and its agencies--FAO included--in the international life, in strengthening collaboration among countries and peoples with a view to checking the dangerous course of events towards confrontation and war, towards a nuclear catastrophe, to resolutely asserting the policy of international peace, detente and wide cooperation. There is nothing more important today than people's concerted efforts to halt the arms race, nuclear in the first place, achieve disarmament and defend peace [for nations] and people's foremost right to live in freedom and dignity, Romania's president underscores showing that huge military expenditures are an ever heavier burden on people's shoulders. A cut on these expenditures--he points out--would release substantial funds and material means which could be used to support the efforts for progress of all countries, of the developing ones in particular, to solve social problems--such as unemployment, famine, diseases, illiteracy--with an appalling impact on some countries and peoples.

Stressing that everything possible should be done to eradicate this utterly anachronical [as received] state of things, Nicolae Ceausescu shows in his message: "Certainly, what matters first is the developing countries' own effort to turn to account their national riches and to ensure their own economic and social prosperity. Furthermore, the eradication of underdevelopment, of the heavy legacy left by the old policy of

colonial exploitation require concerted actions from peoples, a broad international collaboration to support the lagging countries and to establish a new world economic order in full equality and fairness to boost the faster progress of all countries--of the least developed in particular--to facilitate the unhampered access of peoples to the gains of modern science and civilization. Romania's president also believes that FAO can and must contribute actively to the eradication of underdevelopment and, generally, to people's efforts for the establishment of a new economic order in the world.

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CSO: 2020/56

DELEGATE ADDRESSES UN COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION

AU252048 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] The United Nations, 25 Nov (AGERPRES)--Addressing the special political committee of the UN General Assembly on questions related to information and interstate collaboration in that area, Romania's representative highlighted the need for objective information items to serve the truth and contribute to the promotion of confidence, understanding, collaboration and peace on an international plane.

It is imperatively necessary, the speaker showed, that mass media contribute with a high sense of responsibility to making the public opinion aware of the danger of international deterioration, to encouraging broad international cooperation. He stated that Romania was for the narrowing and bridging of the current gap between industrialized and developing countries as far as information and communications were concerned, for the building of a new order in information.

He insisted on the fact that the common interests in better knowledge, rapprochement and understanding among peoples called for a permanent pursuit of the goal of correct information, supplied by authorized national sources in particular, in connection with the major events in developing countries, with the concerns, lives and aspirations of the peoples in those countries. Romania, he pointed out, has always supported requests and proposals aimed at a thorough examination, within the world organization, of the problems related to information with a view to enhancing the United Nations' direct contribution to encouraging the process of building a new order in that area. The UN should take account of the role and influence of mass information on international life and relations, must support efforts made on a national and world plane for information items serving friendship among peoples, must fight the propagation of racism, war-like propaganda and ensure the strengthening of respect for the traditions and culture of each people, the dissemination of everything mankind has created best in all spheres of human knowledge.

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CSO: 2020/56

POLITICS

ROMANIA

FESTIVE MEETING MARKS UN HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

AU102007 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1938 GMT 10 Dec 85

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Dec (AGERPRES)--A festive meeting was arranged in Bucharest on 10 December to mark the Human Rights Day by the Romanian Association for the United Nations (ANUROM), the Romanian Youth and Students' Association for the United Nations (ASTRNU), the Association of International Law and International Relations (ADIRI).

Prof Alexandru Balaci, ANUROM chairman, highlighted the fact that the fundamental goal of the RCP and Romanian state policy, of the vast work of socialist construction is man, the plenary meeting of his demands, the unhampered assertion and continuous development of human personality. Emphasis was placed on the steady concern of the RCP and of the Romanian state to broaden socialist democracy by improving the legislative, institutional framework, the management mechanisms meant to ensure the effective participation of the broad masses of peoples, of all the members of society irrespective of nationality to the implementation of the state home and foreign policy. Stress was laid on the serious danger posed to man by the arms race, by the stockpiling of new and ever more sophisticated means of destruction while Romania's conception on 'individuals', nations' foremost right to peace, to a free and dignified existence was underscored. The Romanian people's firm determination was expressed to work alongside the other world nations to safeguard peoples' right to life, to a free and independent existence.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's message on the human rights day was read by Noel D. Eichhorn, director ad interim of the UN Information Centre in Bucharest.

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CSO: 2020/56

POLITICS

ROMANIA

DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIAN PEOPLE MARKED

AU291114 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0916 GMT 29 Nov 85

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Nov (AGERPRES)--Along with the whole progressive world Romania celebrates the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Romania, the Romanian people that steadily support the peoples' struggle for independence and self-determination have sided from the very beginning with the Palestinian people's just cause, stressing that the achievement of a global peace in the Middle East depends on the settlement of this issue.

In this sense, it should be shown that Romania's president is among the first heads of state to have backed the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, the creation of an independent Palestinian state, Romania being the first country to have recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and Bucharest--one of the first European capitals where a PLO official representation was opened. As repeatedly stressed by Yassir Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, the Palestinian people greatly value Romania's steady and active support to their right cause.

Romania has deployed intense activity in support of the Palestinian people's just cause, giving them full political, diplomatic, moral and material support. The numerous meetings and talks of President Nicolae Ceausescu with Yassir Arafat, with other leaders of the Palestinian movement were moments of outstanding importance in the history of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples.

Starting from the feelings of profound and sincere friendship cherished by the Romanian people for the Arab peoples, from the traditional links existing for centuries between Romanians and Arabs, Romania pays permanent heed to the evolution of the situation in the Middle East, doing everything in her power to efficiently support a peaceful settlement of the conflict, in the major interests of all people living in that region. Romania has firmly and steadily declared for a just and durable peace in the Middle East, based on the Israeli troops' withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war, on the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and statehood, on

securing the independence, sovereignty and security of all states in the region. In this spirit, Romania has declared for the organization of a UN-sponsored international conference with the participation of all interested states, the PLO included.

On the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people the Romanian people reiterate their active support to the Palestinian people's just cause, their determination to further consolidate the Romanian-Palestinian friendship, as part and parcel of the Romanian policy of development of the friendship and collaboration with all Arab peoples.

In their 29 November issues SCINTEIA, ROMANIA LIBERA and the other leading Romanian dailies devoted to the event articles and commentaries highlighting the fight waged since over two decades by the Palestinian people under the PLO leadership for winning back their legitimate rights, stressing the central place of the Palestinian issue in the settlement of the Middle East issues.

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CSO: 2020/56

POLITICS

ROMANIA

RCP MESSAGE TO ANGOLAN MPLA LABOR PARTY CONGRESS

AU050946 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0913 GMT 5 Dec 85

["RCP Message of Salute to the Second Congress of the MPLA-Workers' Party of Angola"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Luanda, 5 Dec (AGERPRES)--On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, of its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, Cornel Pacoste, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, RCP representative to the Second Congress of the MPLA-Workers' Party of Angola, conveyed the participants, all party militants, the Angolan working people a warm comradely salute and feelings of empathy and solidarity. Pointing out that the fineties of friendship and solidarity established between the two parties and peoples as early as the years of Angolan people's liberation fight, the speaker said that the RCP and the Romanian people granted the popular liberation movement of Angola-Workers' Party and the Angolan people an active political, diplomatic, moral and material support, resolutely backed its legitimate fight and aspirations after freedom and national independence, to build a new free and dignified life.

After he stressed that the visit President Nicolae Ceausescu paid to Angola in 1979 and the Romanian-Angolan treaty of friendship and cooperation signed on the occasion and the Romanian visit of Jose Eduardo dos Santos in 1984 and the joint Romanian-Angolan communique had laid solid foundations and opened broad prospects to the relations between the two parties and countries the speaker said:

The Romanian communists, our entire people follow with keen interest and rejoice at the successes scored by the Angolan people under the leadership of the MPLA-Workers' Party in the struggle for the country's reconstruction and development in the 10 years since its liberation despite the difficulties caused by the aggressions of South Africa, of the imperialist circles that hamper it to concentrate its efforts on its economic and social progress.

Next, the RCP representative highlighted that Romania carries on an active policy of cooperation with all socialist countries, with developing and nonaligned countries irrespective of social system, resolutely supports the peoples' national liberation struggle, actively militates for new, democratic international relations, for peace and cooperation among nations.

Reasserting that Romania firmly grounds its international links on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of the use and threat of force, the speaker stressed that his country, President Nicolae Ceausescu tirelessly work for the assertion of these principles in international relations so that each people should freely choose its political and economic development path.

Pointing out that, given the tension and danger of new conflicts and wars characterizing the current international situation, the fundamental issues of our days are the halting of the arms race on the earth and its prevention in outer space, the passage to disarmament, nuclear in the first place, so that nations', individuals' foremost right to life, freedom and peace should be ensured, the speaker emphasized that the implementation of real disarmament measures would decisively contribute to a new approach to underdevelopment questions, to the overcoming of crisis phenomena in world economy.

In conclusion the RCP representative said: Romania firmly backs the African peoples' efforts to liquidate the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, consolidate national independence, ensure their economic and social progress. We are fully solid with the Namibian people's fight under SWAPO leadership for winning independence, campaign for the abolition of the apartheid and racial discrimination policy in South Africa and resolutely condemn the aggression of the Pretoria regime against the People's Republic of Angola and the other neighboring countries.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON VISIT TO ROMANIA

AU042105 Vienna Television Service in German 2015 GMT 3 Dec 85

[Interview by Austrian Foreign Minister Leopold Gratz to Vienna Television Service Official Professor Paul Lendvai in Bucharest on 3 December--recorded]

[Text] [Lendvai] Mr Minister, you have just seen State President Ceausescu. What is your assessment of the significance of the visit or, of the results of this visit?

[Gratz] In my opinion the results were very good. President Ceausescu stated that he attaches great value to improving relations with Austria, particularly in the economic field. This naturally involves an expansion of trade and hence also is in Austria's interest.

[Lendvai] This visit was the conclusion, so to speak, of a series of visits which you paid to Eastern European countries, to neighboring countries. How do you see the significance or the objectives of Austria's Eastern policy, after this series of visits?

[Gratz] The objectives, particularly considering the Helsinki follow-up conference which opens in Vienna in the coming year, are very concisely the following: That we as a democracy are not afraid of contacts, that we accept the fact just as well as the other side accepts it, that we cherish different fundamental attitudes toward many things--such as the organization of the state and society--and that we are nevertheless trying within the framework of these accepted differences to find areas of cooperation, areas of more intense human contacts, areas of better economic relations, as well as areas of political contacts.

[Lendvai] Are there countries where all this can be done better and are there countries where progress is slower?

[Gratz] Well, naturally; the term that we are always using--Eastern Europe--this is not a unity after all. It comprises individual countries, each with its own history, own culture, and with its own pride and national awareness. Naturally, there are differences in the intensify of this process. But fortunately progress can be shown with respect to all countries.

[Lendvai] Does Czechoslovakia also belong to these states? How do you see the prospects for an improvement of the relations between Prague and Vienna?

[Gratz] There exist so many statements of principles from the Czechoslovak state president down to the foreign minister about Czechoslovakia's wish to improve relations, that I am optimistic. I well know that it will be difficult because we said that we want better relations but naturally while preserving--how shall I put it--the dignity of both states, but I believe also on the basis of small indications of the border that things will improve. We on our part will definitely try for it.

[Lendvai] When are you going to Prague?

[Gratz] This is not being envisaged in the foreseeable future. In the rhythm of visits, a visit by the Czechoslovak foreign minister to Vienna is being envisaged first.

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CSO: 2020/56

JPRS-EER-86-008

21 January 1986

MRS CEAUSESCU MEETS EUROPEAN ACADEMY OFFICIALS

AU032039 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 3 Dec 85

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Dec (AGERPRES)--Academician Elena Ceausescu D, Sc, first deputy prime minister of Romania, chairman of the National Council of Science and Education, met on 3 December with Prof Raymong Daudel [spelling as received], president of the European Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, and Nicole Lemaire d'Agargio, secretary-general of the European Academy. The guests attended the annual meeting of the members of the European Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters and the symposium "Science and Society, Ethic and Social Duties of Scientists for Peace and Disarmament" held these last few days, in Bucharest, which debated current and long-term question of the development of science, technology, education, art and culture, as well as international collaboration in these domains, to the benefit of peoples' economic and social progress.

During the meeting, the leaders of the European Academy praised Acad Elena Ceausescu's activity in the field of science, fundamental and applied research, broad promotion of technico-scientific progress. They thanked her for Romania's hosting these important international scientific reunions for the special conditions provided for their successful unfolding.

The leaders of the European Academy also pointed to the high level of science, education and culture in Romania. Highly praised was the recent congress of science and education where Elena Ceausescu had been elected chairman of the new body--the National Council of Science and Education of Romania.

During the talks questions were approached related to the development of cooperation and collaboration of Romania scientists with members of the European Academy, with men of science and culture from Europe and other continents.

Emphasis was placed on the growing highly responsible role of men of science, culture, arts and educators in the peaceful use of the latest gains of science and technology, for all nations' good and happiness. It was also stressed that scientists all over the world should strengthen their cooperation and work in concert for halting the arms race, nuclear arming in particular, for disarmament, international peace and collaboration.

The interview, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Ion Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology.

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CSO: 2020/56

POLITICS

ROMANIA

PRESS ON 67TH ANNIVERSARY OF 'UNITARY NATIONAL STATE'

AU091412 [Editorial Report] Romanian dailies SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA have given extensive coverage to the 67th anniversary of the 1 December 1918 union of Transylvania with Romania and the foundation of Unitary Romanian National State.

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA on 27 November starts a series of articles by various university professors and historians dedicated to this event. The first article, by Dr Camil Muresan, calls the event "a lawful act of historic justice," while the article in SCINTEIA of 28 November by University Professor Dr Alexandru Porteanu and the article in ROMANIA LIBERA of 28 November by Nicolae Josan, chief of section at the Union Museum of Alba Julia both call it "the great union, the expression of millennia old aspirations of the Romanian people."

The series of items dedicated to this anniversary culminates with the coverage in SCINTEIA of 1 December, in which the entire page 3 is dedicated to it. The anniversary is marked in this paper by four unattributed short articles, ranging from 400 to 600 words and a poem having such resounding headlines as: "The Union and Unity--Result of Our History"; "The People's Voice Ceaselessly Called: Union and Union Again!"; "The Outcome of the Heroic and Ardent Fight of the Masses"; "Communists--Most Daring Defendants of National Unity"; and "The People's Unity Around the Party and Its Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu Is Proof of a Present of Dignity and Certainty." Some historical pictures are also displayed on the page, including one of Nicolae Ceausescu's among all the heroes of Romanian history.

In addition to the above press coverage, the weekly BUCHAREST LUMEA in Romanian No 48 of 28 November carries on pages 5, 6, 7 a 2,000-word article by Dr Gehorge Unc entitled "The Everlasting Memory of the 1 December 1918 Heroic Event" in which the author surveys the historical events that preceded and led up to 1 December 1918. This is, according to the author "the foundation of a good and happy future." The article also quotes various papers of that time, which are published in Transylvania reporting on "the great enthusiasm of old Saxon colonies in Transylvania, who shared the Romania's sufferings for centuries and now, wholeheartedly rejoice in their joy."

The article concludes with praises of present day Romania, where "under the leadership of the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the unity of the socialist Romanian nation is being continuously consolidated."

POLITICS

ROMANIA

PRESS MARKS FRIEDRICH ENGEL'S 165TH BIRTHDAY

AU281654 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1214 GMT 28 Nov 85

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Nov (AGERPRES)--The Romanian dailies of 28 November mark 165 years since the birth of Friedrich Engels, highlighting the live character of the materialist-dialectical and historical thinking, of scientific communism in the elaboration of which Engels made a major contribution along with Marx.

Starting from the consideration stressed at the 13th Congress of the RCP (1984) that the in-depth knowledge of the work of the founders of scientific socialism means going over the stage of merely commenting it, through the articulation of extensive studies on socio-economic realities "in the spirit of the theory elaborated by Marx and Engels" SCINTEIA writes: "Relying upon the revolutionary theory we have the duty to find answers to the current preoccupations and discover new, insufficiently fructified sides of their creation." The RCP press organ mentions that this means active knowledge from positions of ideologic involvement, meant to amplify the capacity of continuous renewal of this theory through the generalization of the latest gains of human knowledge.

Highlighting the intense theoretical and practical activity unfolded by the RCP, the contribution of its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, a Marxist philosopher of international standing, SCINTEIA shows that especially after the 9th Congress of the party (1965) science became in Romania the sound foundation of the whole economic and socio-political activity. In turn, ROMANIA LIBERA, also pointing to the wide course opened by that congress for the innovating, revolutionary spirit throughout the social life, writes:

"The RCP analyzed and brought creative solutions for major theoretical and practical problems such as the dialectics of the general-particular, national-international, objective subjective correlation in social life, the concept of multilaterally developed socialist society, the building and development of the technical material base of the new system, its impact on the contemporary technological-scientific revolution, the improvement of revolutionary worker democracy, the role of nation in contemporary epoch and the settlement of the national question in Romania,

the genesis and mechanism of contradictions in socialism, the dynamics and complexity of the formation of the advanced, socialist consciousness, the specific contemporary socio-economic processes and the requirements of applying new principles in inter-state relations."

All dailies mention that the documents of the 13th Congress of the RCP are yet another illustration of this scientific, creative spirit. "The considerations on the blending of a unitary management with the broad initiative of the collectives of working people, the ever more important role of socialist ownership in the building of the new system, the evolution of the essence of state in the perspective of the advance to communism, the growing role of the party as leading force in our society, the permanent character of the revolutionary spirit are telling illustrations of the creative manner in which the problems of social and economic development today are approached and solved," SCINTEIA writes stressing, just like the other newspapers that the whole theoretical [maneuver] of the RCP general secretary "is an expression of Marxism creatively applied to Romania's concrete conditions."

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CSO: 2020/56

POLITICS

ROMANIA

WORKING PEOPLE'S GENERAL ASSEMBLIES TO OPEN

AU171030 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 17 Oct 85

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Oct (AGERPRES)--By the end of the month a new session of the General Assemblies of the People Working in Industrial, Construction, Transport and Telecommunications Enterprises, in Research, Technological Engineering and Design Institute, in Agricultural Units, in the State and Cooperative Trade Units, Tourist and Services Units as well as in Social and Cultural Institutions of Romania is due to start.

These forums of self-management that involve virtually all the working population in the decision-making process, is one of the gains of the Romanian democracy. The assemblies have been operating as an institutionalized system for several years, and experience has proved to the full their economic and social efficiency.

The general assemblies have multiple functions as supreme bodies in the respective units. They debate all the major problems related to the productive activities, endorse the production plans, sanction the income and expenditure budgets which--according to the new economic and financial mechanism--each enterprise works out for itself, decide on the modification of the fabrication profile, decide on the number of personnel to be employed by the respective unit and its distribution, look into all the draft normative acts regarding improvements in the activity, validate or invalidate the leading cadres as they can invalidate the enterprise's management in case it proved incompetent.

During the general assemblies, that meet quarterly, all the working people have a right to tell their opinion on the activity of their unit and suggest proposals in view of improving the existing states of affairs, and to criticize all shortcomings.

In recent years the supreme forums of the workers' self-management have led to thousands of proposals and decisions for optimization, acquiring a genuine consecration as bodies of the collective management and as efficient forms for the mobilization of the collective intelligence.

All premises exist for the current round of general assemblies, that debate and endorse the tasks incumbent on the respective units under the single national plan for economic and social development in 1986, to play a decisive part in preparing the conditions for an exemplary implementation of the targets set for this first year of the ensuing 5-year plan period, that is to mark among other things the finalization of the national programs for improvement of the technological and quality standard of products and improvement of labor efficiency.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

MESSAGE TO PDR OF YEMEN--To Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Aden. On the occasion of your country's national day--the 18th anniversary of the proclamation of independence--I take great pleasure in extending warm greetings to you, to the Yemen Socialist Party, and to the people of the PDR of Yemen. I express my belief that the relations of close friendship and fruitful cooperation between the SR of Romania and the PDR of Yemen will continue to develop both bilaterally and in the international arena for the benefit of the two peoples and in the interests of the general cause of peace, cooperation, and understanding throughout the world. I take this opportunity to convey to you best wishes for health and personal happiness and wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly people of your country. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text]
[Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Nov 85 p 8] /9604

MESSAGE TO ANGOLAN PRESIDENT--To Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]--Labor Party, and president of the People's Republic of Angola, Luanda. The 10th anniversary of the state independence of the People's Republic of Angola offers me the opportunity to extend, on behalf of the Romanian people, the RCP, the Government of the SR of Romania, and on my own behalf warm congratulations and best wishes to you, the Angolan people, the MPLA-Labor Party, and to the Government of the People's Republic of Angola. I want to take this opportunity to reassert the Romanian people's militant solidarity with the just struggle of the Angolan people for the socio-economic development of the People's Republic of Angola and for the defense and consolidation of its national independence. I want to express the conviction that in the spirit of talks and understandings jointly concluded, the relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between our parties and countries will develop more and more to the benefit of the Romanian and Angolan peoples and of the cause of peace, national independence, and understanding in the world. I wish you much good health and personal happiness and I wish the friendly Angolan people peace, progress, and prosperity. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Nov 85 p 5] /9604

DELEGATION HAS TALKS IN ZIMBABWE--Harare, 18 Nov (AGERPRES)--A Romanian parliamentary delegation led by Iosif Szasz, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly (the parliament), now in an official visit of friendship to the Republic of Zimbabwe, met with Didymus Mutasa, speaker of the House of Assembly, and Nollan Makombe, president of the Senate, with members of the Zimbabwean Parliament. The delegation also had interviews with the ministers of trade, foreign affairs and justice, legal and parliamentary affairs, as well as with the mayor of Harare City. During the interviews, emphasis was placed on the decisive contribution of meetings between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Canaan Sodindo Banana and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, in Bucharest and Harare, to the continuous strengthening of the relations of friendship and collaboration which link the Romanian and Zimbabwean peoples. In the spirit of summit understandings, it was stressed that parliaments should take an active part in promoting better knowledge and rapprochement between the two countries and peoples, in boosting actions of economic cooperation and Romanian-Zimbabwean cooperation as a whole. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 18 Nov 85] /9604

MINISTER MEETS OMAN SULTAN--Muscat, 21 Nov--Sultan Gabus Ibn Sa'id was called on by a Romanian delegation that participated in the festivities occasioned by the 15th celebration of the national day of Oman. On the occasion warm congratulations were conveyed to the Sultan of Oman and wishes of progress and welfare to the friendly people of Oman on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu. The head of state of Oman thanked and asked that the Romanian president be conveyed a warm message of friendship and high esteem. The Romanian delegation headed by Traian Pop, deputy minister of foreign affairs, conducted talks with leading cadres of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The sides highlighted the joint wish to develop the relations of friendship and cooperation in domains of mutual interest. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1802 GMT 21 Nov 85] /9604

BANC RECEIVES ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION--Bucharest, 21 Nov (AGERPRES)--November 21, Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met with a delegation of the party of the Working People of Ethiopia [PWE], headed by Wubshet Dessie [spelling as received], secretary of the CC of the PWE, who paid a swap-of-experience visit to Romania. On the occasion reference was made to the fine relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, peoples and countries, which develop continuously in the spirit of summit talks and understandings. The joint wish was expressed to further develop these relations on multiple planes, to mutual advantage, in the interests of the cause of independence, social progress and international collaboration, of socialism and peace throughout the world. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1911 GMT 21 Nov 85]

COMAN MEETS JAPANESE MIYAMOTO--Tokyo, 22 Nov (AGERPRES)--An exchange of friendly messages took place between Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenji Miyamoto when the chairman of the CC of the Japanese Communist Party [JCP] received

Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of the RCP delegation attending the 17th JCP congress. During the interview the traditional relations of solidarity between the two parties, the close, friendly relations of their leaders were warmly evoked. Mutual information was exchanged on the current activities and concerns of the RCP and JCP. Satisfaction was expressed at the evolution of the relations between the two parties, at the constant contacts and exchanges of views on problems related to their activity and the wish was evinced to further develop and deepen the relations between the RCP and the JCP, to the mutual advantage. Current questions of the communist and worker movement and of the international life were also approached. While attending the JCP congress, Ion Coman met with Sanzo Nosaka, JCP honorary president. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1707 GMT 22 Nov 85] /9604

VADUVA MEETS DANISH MINISTER--During his visit to Copenhagen, Ilie Vaduva, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, conducted talks with Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Danish minister for foreign affairs. Expressing satisfaction at the ascending course of the links between the two countries on various planes, the two ministers examined possibilities of further boosting Romanian-Danish exchanges and cooperation, more particularly in the economic, technical and scientific areas. They highlighted the importance of concluding long-term agreements on a balanced and highly prospective basis, in line with the potential of the two national economies. President Nicolae Ceausescu's considerations and proposals were set forth concerning the cessation of the arms race, a halt to the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe and in the world, an undelayed passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, the political settlement of the states of war and tension among states, the global resolution of the developing countries' foreign debt problem, and the establishment of a new world economic order. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1926 GMT 26 Nov 85] /9604

MESSAGE TO JCP LEADERS--To Comrade Kenji Miyamoto, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan and to Comrade Tetsuzo Fuwa, chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan [JCP]. On your reelection as chairman of the JCP Central Committee chairman and chairman of the JCP Central Committee Presidium respectively, I take pleasure in extending warm congratulations and best wishes for success in the highly responsible activity entrusted to you by the party. Expressing satisfaction with the positive relations established between the RCP and the JCP, I am convinced that these relations, based on mutual esteem and respect, will constantly develop in the interests of the two parties, the Romanian people, and the Japanese people. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Nov 85 p 5] /9604

VADUVA MEETS DANISH QUEEN--Copenhagen, 27 Nov (AGERPRES)--Queen Margrethe II of Denmark and Prince Henrik were conveyed a warm message of salute and the best wishes of good health and personal happiness, and the friendly Danish people wishes of peace and prosperity on behalf of Romania's President

Nicolae Ceausescu and of Mme Elena Ceausescu. Thanking, Queen Margrethe II requested that President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu be conveyed feelings of deep esteem as well as cordial wishes of good health and happiness and the Romanian people wishes of prosperity on her own behalf, as well as on behalf of Prince Henrik. The messages were exchanged when the Danish head of state received the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Ilie Vaduva, who is paying an official visit to that country. During the interview, the mutual wish was expressed to expand and deepen the Romanian-Danish links bilaterally and in the international arena, in the interests of the two countries, of the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration in Europe and the world over. During his visit to Denmark, the Romanian minister also met with Svend Jakobsen, president of the Folketing (the parliament) of Denmark, with spokesmen and party representatives of the parliament. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 27 Nov 85] /9604

RADULESCU MEETS ZAIRE PRESIDENT--Kinshasa, 27 Nov (AGERPRES)--Messages were exchanged in Kinshasa between the RCP general secretary and Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, founding chairman of the Movement Populaire de la Revolution, president of the Republic of Zaire, during the call paid on the Zairian leader by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council. Vice-President Gheorghe Radulescu attended, as representative of the Romanian president, the festivities arranged to mark the 20th anniversary of the Zairian revolution. During the interview, satisfaction was expressed at the positive course of Romanian-Zairian collaboration and it was shown that there were broad prospects for the growth of commercial exchanges and economic cooperation. Problems of the present-day international life were also approached. In Kinshasa, Gheorghe Radulescu had interviews with heads of economic departments of the Zairian Government, and examined with them the possibilities of boosting the two countries' commercial exchanges and economic cooperation. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 27 Nov 85] /9604

HU THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR CONGRATULATIONS--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General. I want to express sincere thanks for the congratulatory cable full of affection and warmth you sent to me on my 70th birthday and thanks for the decision to award me the order "Star of the SR of Romania," first class with sash. This is an expression of the profound sentiments of friendship of the RCP, the Romanian people, and by you personally toward the CPC, the Chinese people, and myself. May the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties of ours, between China and Romania continually develop for a long time to come. I wish Romania prosperity and progress. I wish you personally good health and happiness. Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Nov 85 p 5] /9604

CONSTANTINESCU MEETS JORDANIAN CROWN PRINCE--Amman, 27 Nov (AGERPRES)--The crown prince of Jordan, Hassan ibn Talal, received Ion Constantinescu, minister secretary of state at the State Planning Committee, chairman for

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Romania of the Romanian-Jordanian Joint Governmental Commission on Economic and Scientific Cooperation. During the talk conducted on the occasion, the crown prince underscored that King Husayn of Jordan and the whole Jordanian people were highly appreciative of President Nicolae Ceausescu's activity and initiatives to identify global political solutions, conducive to the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 27 Nov 85] /9604

SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIAN PEOPLE--Bucharest, 29 Nov (AGERPRES)--A meeting marking the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People took place in Bucharest on 29 November. It was an opportunity to stress that Romania had always declared for a solution to the just cause of the Palestinian people granting it its full political, diplomatic, moral and material support. Noel D. Eichhonor, director ad-interim of the UN Information Center in Bucharest, read UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's message on the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. PLO's permanent representative in Bucharest, Ezzat Abou-al Rob [spelling as received] warmly thanked the Romanian party and state, President Nicolae Ceausescu for their militant solidarity with the Palestinian people's just fight. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2057 GMT 29 Nov 85] /9604

CAZAN MEETS GABONESE PRESIDENT--Libreville, 2 Dec (AGERPRES)--President El-Hadj Omar Bongo of the Gabonese Republic received Gheorghe Cazan, Romanian minister, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, now visiting Gabon as head of an economic delegation. The Gabonese head of state asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a friendly salute and wishes of good health and personal happiness. During the talks held aspects were approached related to the development and strengthening of the relations between the two countries, promotion of trade exchanges and bilateral economic cooperation. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1425 GMT 2 Dec 85] /9604

SCINTEIA DELEGATION IN BEIJING--Beijing, 5 Dec (AGERPRES)--Hu Qili, member of the Political Bureau of the Secretariat of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, received a delegation of the SCINTEIA newspaper, headed by Chief Editor Ion Mitran, now visiting China as guests of the RENMIN RIBAO newspaper. During the talks held on the occasion the sides highlighted the development of the relations between the Romanian and the Chinese journalists and their contribution to promoting the good relations between the two countries and peoples. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1747 GMT 5 Dec 85] /9604

GERE MEETS ISRAEL'S PRESIDENT--Tel Aviv, 6 Dec (AGERPRES)--From Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, a message of salute and best wishes were conveyed to Chaim Herzog, president of State of Israel. The president of the State of Israel asked that the Romanian head of state be conveyed his cordial thanks and best wishes. The exchange of messages took place when the Israeli head of state met with Mihai Gere, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, who leads the RCP delegation at the 20th congress of the Communist Party of Israel. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1958 GMT 6 Dec 85] /9604

MOROCCAN PREMIER RECEIVES BULUCEA--Rabat, 14 Dec (AGERPRES)--Mohamed Lamrani, prime minister of Morocco, received Vasile Bulucea, Romanian minister of transport and telecommunications, who is paying a visit to Morocco. On the occasion, satisfaction was expressed at the ascending course of bilateral economic cooperation, just as the wish to expand and diversify it in line with the understandings on the manysided development of the Romanian-Moroccan ties of friendship and cooperation reached at summit level. During his interviews with the Moroccan ministers of equipment, transport, posts and telecommunications, maritime fishing and merchant marine, palpable aspects of bilateral collaboration were approached. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1714 GMT 14 Dec 85] /9604

CUBAN EMBASSY RECEPTION--On the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the creation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba, the ambassador of that country to Bucharest, Rodney Lopez, and the military, air, and naval attache Pablo Jela, gave a cocktail reception on 29 November. The reception was attended by members of the Ministry of National Defense leadership, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, generals, officers, and other officials. Also attending were heads of diplomatic missions in Bucharest and military attaches. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Dec 85 p 7] /9604

CSO: 2020/56

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

REPUBLIC-WIDE DISCUSSION OF LCY STRUCTURE, MEMBERSHIP DECLINE

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Nov 85 p 3

[Article prepared from reports by Jovan Pjevic, Sanja Modric, Fehmija Nikocevic, Slavko Vukasinovic, Branislav Gulan, Velisa Krsmanovic, Milos Antic, Dragan Nikolic, Dragan Radevic, and Jovan Radovanovic: "Why Are They Leaving the Party?"]

[Text] "In all the stages of our revolution, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in spite of the difficulties and temporary standstills, has remained the revolutionary force of the working class, precisely thanks to the fact that it has opened the roads for strengthening its political and social position, constantly making new breakthroughs in the liberation of man, labor, and society from class antagonisms. Both today and in the future the success of the revolutionary action of the League of Communists will depend on the extent it is capable as the communist vanguard of opening up new perspectives and of offering the right clear answers and solutions to the difficulties, contradictions and dilemmas we confront. In that respect it is crucially important that the LC press back the statist and technobureaucratic forces so that the working class takes command of the totality of relations in society, especially in the disposition and management of the resources for social reproduction, so that it becomes the leading force of every nationality, and so that the authentic interests of the workers in associated labor determine all other relations in society."

Let these words of Vojo Srzentic, chairman of the Commission of the LCY Central Committee for Development of the LC and Personnel Policy, spoken at the recent 22d Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, serve us as an introduction to a survey we conducted by means of our correspondence in the republic and provincial centers with a single question: Why has worker interest in the League of Communists dropped off?

A Third of the Employees Are Party Members

A few basic figures might serve us as an illustration of the situation at the moment in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia:

1. at the end of 1984 the membership of the LCY stood at 2,167,860, distributed among 70,196 basic organizations;

ii. members of the LCY represent 13.8 percent of the population of Yugoslavia over age 18 and 28.6 percent of the employed labor force;

iii. the most numerous social group are workers--657,000, or 30.2 percent, although their relative share has increased only 1.8 percent over the last decade, and then there is the fact that workers are convincingly in the lead among those leaving the LC, with a proportion of 50 percent.

Our survey, which took these figures as its point of departure and was conducted in the republic and provincial organizations of the League of Communists as well as in the largest city party organization, in Belgrade, shows that basically similar trends are prevalent in all organizations.

Slovenia

Just in the first half of this year 1,880 people left the ranks of the League of Communists of Slovenia, while only 874 members were enrolled. According to the figures which our collaborator obtained from the Presidium of the Slovenian LC Central Committee, the Slovenian LC today has a membership of 126,737.

Young people, workers, and women are the "leaders" among those leaving the League of Communists. In the first half of this year 163 workers (57 percent of the total number), 68 young people (24 percent), 49 women (17 percent), 37 specialists in various fields (13 percent), and 27 officeworkers (9.5 percent), and so on, were expelled from the Slovenian LC.

Of the 948 members of the Slovenian LC who chose to leave the party, workers represented nearly 49 percent, women 36.5 percent, young people more than 21 percent, and specialists in various fields about 29 percent. Of the total number removed from the rolls, workers represented 35 percent, women, 27 percent, young people 23.5 percent, specialists 14.6 percent, pensioners more than 21 percent, and officeworkers 6.6 percent.

Young people under the age of 27 are the leaders among the new members, comprising 60 percent. With respect to social and occupational background, workers are the largest group among the new members; in the first half of this year the Slovenian LC enrolled 253 workers, or 29 percent, but their absolute number has dropped from about 1,000 in 1982 to 578 in 1984. In second place are high school students, who comprise almost 29 percent of new members in the first half of this year, and in third place are officeworkers, followed by engineers, technicians, economists, and lawyers. It is interesting that the share of educators among new members of the Slovenian LC has held at a stable 5 percent over the last several years.

Another interesting figure is that since 1982 the share of management personnel among new members has increased from 2.5 to 6.6 percent this year, and there has also been an increase in the share of security personnel.

Croatia: One Into the Party, Another Out of the Party

The 14,390 basic organizations of the Croatian LC have 341,252 members. Following a 10-year growth of the membership (between 1972 and 1982), there was a slight drop in 1983, and then in 1984 there was a significant decrease in the number of members. Last year the number of members of the Croatian LC dropped off about 7,500, which is approximately one-fifth of the membership recorded in 1983.

According to the figures of the Croatian LC Central Committee, in the period 1983-1984 the largest drop was in the number of workers, university students, secondary students, and young people generally in the Croatian LC. Whereas in 1978 33.5 percent of the membership of the Croatian LC were workers, in 1984 they represented 30.5 percent. In 1978 young people under age 27 represented 26.3 percent, university and secondary students 6.5 percent, but in 1984 young people had a 7.6-percent lower share, and the share of university and secondary students was 2.6 percent less in the Croatian LC.

Between the Eighth and Ninth Congresses of the Croatian LC slightly fewer than 3,000 members were expelled, nearly 10,000 were dropped from the rolls, and 3,600 members withdrew from the ranks of the League of Communists. Over that period one person left the ranks of the organization for every five members of the LC enrolled.

Over the last 3 years 25,600 members have been removed from the rolls for various reasons, which means that for every one enrolled, another is leaving the organization. This trend recorded a very rapid increase in 1984, when membership in the Croatian LC terminated for slightly more than 12,000 people. Over the last 2 years there have been essential changes in the reasons for termination of membership in the League of Communists; a decline in the number of expulsions is noted, there is an increase in the number of those removed from the rolls and those who are resigning from the League of Communists.

In the group of people who last year ceased to be members of the Croatian LC 46.7 percent were workers, 27.0 percent young people under age 27, and 8.4 percent university and secondary students.

Workers were the largest group among those expelled last year: 745, or 56.3 percent. Workers are also leading on the list of those removed from the rolls--there were about 3,000 of them, or 44.3 percent. Workers were also the largest group resigning from the Croatian LC: 1,800, or 47 percent.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

The League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina has a membership of 423,350; workers comprise 33.3 percent, officeworkers 12.3 percent, farmers 2.7 percent, young people under age 27 32.7 percent, and women nearly 29 percent.

In the first 6 months of this year 8,785 new members were enrolled in that republic, while at the same time more than 3,000 members left the LC (expulsions, removal from the rolls, and resignations).

Young people are the largest group among the new members in the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC, numbering 7,023, there were 3,865 new women members, 1,724 workers, 349 officeworkers, and 44 farmers. Workers are leading in the total number of expulsions, of which there were 356, 875 were dropped from the rolls, and 315 resigned from the LC. The number of workers in the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC has dropped 1,546, the number of office workers 179, and the number of farmers 28.

Montenegro

Since the last congress of the Montenegrin LC and up to June of this year 1,635 new members were enrolled, among whom young people were the largest group, slightly more than 83 percent, while direct producers represented about 15 percent. Over that period 317 members were expelled, more than two-thirds of them under age 30, almost half were workers--direct producers. Of the 121 members who resigned from the League of Communists, two-thirds were people who had been in the party less than 10 years, but more than half were workers in direct production, which shows that the direct producers, young people especially, are predominant among those who in recent years have been leaving the League of Communists.

Vojvodina: The Class Base Is "Getting Thin"

Last year the Vojvodina LC enrolled 4,776 new members, so that today the province has 228,572 members. A drop in the number of new members has also been noted in this party organization, as well as an increase in the number of members leaving the League of Communists either by resigning, being dropped from the rolls, or being expelled. It is also noted that over the last 3 years 1,500 basic organizations in Vojvodina, or one-fourth of their number, have not enrolled a single new member, and last year that percentage rose to 68.4.

These "disproportions in development" dare not be ignored, since they are hints that the class base of the League of Communists is getting thin. Last year there was a considerable increase over the previous year in the number of those members who left the League of Communists on whatever basis: 4,000 as against 2,500 in 1982. All of 57.5 percent of that number were workers. The figures for the first 6 months of this year show that 1,200 workers left the League of Communists, or twice as many as were enrolled. It is indicative that in the eight Vojvodina opstinas all of the 50 members of the LC expelled this year were workers.

Serbia

Over the last 1.5 years about 8,000 workers have been enrolled, but more than 11,500 workers have left the League of Communists. However, it is not just workers who are leaving the party. Over the last 1.5 years the total number of members of the Serbian LC decreased by 3,820, among them 2,441 workers, 914 farmers, 24,252 young people, and 1,721 women.

The figures show that last year total new enrollment in the Serbian LC was all of 21 percent below 1983. That tendency is continuing in this year as well, with a marked drop in the enrollment of workers and also with a decline in

their share in the composition of new members. Workers are the most numerous group leaving the LC on one basis or another. Of the total number of party members who have been removed from the rolls of the Serbian LC, 37.7 percent were workers, half of those expelled were workers, and workers represented all of 58.9 percent of those resigning from the LC. The situation is much the same with farmers: 1,647 of them were enrolled in 1983, and 200 fewer in 1984. Over the last 2.5 years about 6 percent of the farmers have withdrawn from the Serbian LC.

Kosovo: Inactive Basic Organizations of the LC

The 3,595 basic organizations in Kosovo now have a membership of 102,520. In 9 months of this year 16 members have resigned from the Kosovo LC, 198 were dropped from the rolls, and 133 members were expelled. Among those who resigned from the LC workers in direct production represented 4.7 percent. They also constitute a third of those expelled over the same period of time and a fifth of the members dropped from the rolls.

In 9 months of this year 2,124 new members were enrolled, the largest group among them being university students and high school students (9 percent), and then workers (16.5 percent) [sic]. The principal characteristic of the new members is that they are mostly young--63.8 percent.

As in other organizations and in Kosovo a large number of the basic organizations did not enroll a single new member last year; according to the records of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC there were more than 2,000 such organizations.

Macedonia

Although the number of members of the Macedonian LC has increased by 13,961 over the last 5 years, it cannot be said that this has corrected the social and class composition of the membership, since the share of workers over that period has dropped 1.2 percent. According to the figures our collaborator was able to obtain, workers are those who are leaving the League of Communists most frequently in that republic as well. In 1984, 647 workers resigned from the Macedonian LC.

Belgrade

It is significant that in one of the most numerous party organizations in the country there was a sudden drop in membership last year from 229,858 to 225,159, and among them workers and young people were the most numerous. From 1982 up through the first 9 months of this year the LC in Belgrade lost 14,452 members on various grounds (11,242 dropped from the rolls, 2,022 resignations, and 1,188 expulsions), while over that same period 16,558 new members were enrolled. The largest drop over the last several years was recorded in 1983--from 229,000 to 223,625.

Ineffectiveness, Irresponsibility...

The figures for the first 9 months of this year show that university students (1,208) and workers (618) were the most numerous among those who are no longer members of the LC in Belgrade. It is interesting to emphasize that as far as young people and their representation and attrition are concerned, in 1980 the party organization of the capital had 64,479 of them, and last year it had 44,623.

All of the figures which we have given here, and which our correspondents were able to obtain, unambiguously show that in recent years there has been a considerable decline in interest in entering the League of Communists and also that workers and young people are predominant among those leaving it.

Why?

Here is what Saban Kevric, a highly skilled lathe operator and member of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee, had to say:

"The reasons for that kind of attrition of members of the League of Communists among the workers and farmers are ineffectiveness in society, especially within the party, in resolving the problems and contradictions that have arisen and which have placed a segment of the party members in the ranks of the workers in a position of having less and less influence on decisionmaking, along with a lack of understanding concerning the demands of the workers, and that not uncommonly those who are honorable and industrious."

Martin Ivezaj, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, sees the principal reason for the declining interest in joining the League of Communists in the slow realization of commitments to the workers taking up the decisive role in the process of social reproduction, in the gap between what has been proclaimed and what actually exists, in the insufficient responsibility and ineffective activity of the League of Communists, in the inconsistency, slowness, and incomplete implementation of the agreed economic stabilization policy, which the workers see as the only solution to the problems of their lives.

Zoran Matkovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, answered the same question this way:

"In earlier stages of our development, whenever there was a congress or any political event of any great importance we had increased interest in joining the League of Communists, especially among young people and workers. Now we have gone into a lull, when regardless of what happens in society and in the League of Communists, there is not enough of that interest. That indicates that we in the League of Communists must turn more toward real life, that is, toward the struggle to actually realize what has been proclaimed, since it is obvious that we are not taking things to the end and we are not fighting enough for the views that have been agreed on. The question of who is leaving its ranks and on what basis is especially important to the League of Communists. Not just in order to produce more analyses and conclusions, but in

order to carry out specific action to change the situation to make a greater commitment so that our socialist system of self-management functions better. And its functioning also depends on the extent to which the workingman is involved in it, the extent to which the interest of the working class is realized in it, and the position of the workers and of the young generation."

Sukrije Ejupi, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, explained the specific situation in Kosovo's party organization:

"We have many people, especially young people, who would like to be enrolled in the League of Communists. And enrollment would certainly be greater if after 1981 we had not tightened the criteria and committed ourselves to offering the opportunity only to those who have really proven themselves and are proving themselves in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism as well as other nationalisms. We are disturbed that the newly enrolled members do not include enough workers from direct production, indeed not even in those places where workers predominate. This applies above all to Titova Mitrovica and Pristina Opstinas, where the largest portion of the province's working class is located. We are also disturbed that workers make up the largest group among those expelled, dropped from the rolls, and especially those who have resigned from the party, though we truly have very few of those in our case. Regardless of the numbers, all of this faces us with a serious obligation to concern ourselves with every aspect of this."

Without Prestige and Influence

If we were to seek a single assessment of our correspondents in the republic and provincial organizations of the League of Communists concerning the reasons why people are leaving the party and losing interest in joining its ranks, then it would be as follows: so-called subjective causes have the decisive influence, that is, the inactivity of a majority of the basic organizations and opstina leadership bodies, modest if any prestige and influence of many basic organizations in the workplace or residential area which is their environment, ever more pronounced opportunism, and the lack of unity of action and not uncommonly even lack of ideological unity in the ranks of the League of Communists.

It is obvious that a change can be brought about only by overcoming the well-known gap between words and deeds, which today specifically means overcoming the economic crisis and improving the material and social position of the workers. That is why a real change can be achieved only through vigorous and effective struggle against various negative phenomena and deformations in society, through a resolute battle against the protagonists of particularism, technobureaucratic statism, nationalism, and other phenomena which are disintegrating and weakening the unity of the LCY and of Yugoslavia as a whole. That is why attainment of the worker majority in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia remains an important question in the struggle to achieve the essence of its working class policy, to revolutionize its role, to develop democratic relations within the party, to strengthen it in terms of organization and personnel, and to make it more consistent, responsible, and effective in

establishing the ideological unity and unity in action of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

[Box, left]

An Untapped "Potential"

"The people and the working class demand and are ready to support an able and vigorous League of Communists, which will continue to build the system, which will deal uncompromisingly with the enemies of all stripes, in which discipline and responsibility will prevail in implementing its own decisions, and able bodies of leadership to lead it. Those who are leaving the League of Communists rightly ask why the LC is not like that, why it does not solve the outstanding problems more rapidly, why it is not more vigorous, and why it often reacts too late?

"The basic organization of the LC is still an untapped potential. It has to become involved in the key issues of the development of income-sharing relations, remuneration, and the opening up of working room for the subjective forces and bodies of management. The basic organization of the LC should be the place for resolving all the key issues from those concerning labor and realizing the surplus value of labor to the alienation of social property, enrichment at the expense of society and the socialized sector, absenteeism, cliquishness, losses, exclusiveness, and ideological controversies. The League of Communists cannot win the battle for the new relations and for more rapid development of self-management solely within forums; it has to fight to a victory in the basic organization of the LC in associated labor, together with the working class."

(Nikola Lapov, chairman of the Commission of the Croatian LC Central Committee for Building up the Organization and Personnel of the LC)

[Box, right]

The Gap

"One particular question we have all begun to concern ourselves with is enrollment in the League of Communists. The figures say that between 1983 and 1984 enrollment in the Serbian LC fell off all of 21 percent. The tendency is continuing this year as well, with a pronounced drop in the enrollment of workers and also a drop in their share in the composition of new members. Workers are also the most numerous when it comes to dropping out of the LC for one reason or another. Of all the party members who have been removed from the rolls, 37.7 percent were workers; half of those expelled were workers, and they represented all of 58.9 percent among those who resigned from the LC.

"Much the same is true of farmers. The trend toward a decline in their enrollment has continued. In 1983, 1,647 of them were enrolled, but 200 fewer in 1984. Over the last 2.5 years about 6 percent of them have left the party.

"These developments are a serious warning concerning certain processes which, to be sure, are more or less characteristic of many places and basic organizations of the LC. The causes of this situation have been pointed out several times, although it seems to me that we still have not managed to get to the heart of the problem, to enter deeply into the real reasons, and to find authentic answers to the question of why there is such a great gap between commitments and practice."

(Zoran Matkovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee)

A Party of Action

"Many years of complacency with what had been achieved, contrary to the policy of the LC concerning its constant mobility and revolutionary action, led to a great gap between what was proclaimed and what was achieved, and that has blunted the revolutionary character of the vanguard. The working class, as has always been the case up to now, has shown that it has a keen sense of these problems and one of the ways it is expressing its dissatisfaction is to show less interest in entering the LC on the one hand and to resign from its ranks more frequently on the other.

"The declining interest of workers in joining the LC is also a consequence of the decline of the personal ethics of quite a few members of the LC, and in these very aggravated times from the standpoint of social welfare it certainly is also a consequence of the anomalies that are evident in the distribution of income and personal incomes. The workers are not reconciling themselves to deviant cases (from privileges to nationalistic outbursts), and they are demanding that earnings be solely an expression and result of the work invested, and not of where one works, with whom, and in what job.

"As though we had forgotten that revolutionary action is the center of the identity of the class. This means that the workers have demanded, are demanding, and will always demand a party in action, and that means action with them, with the working people and citizens, and not demagogic statements that action is being carried out in their name and to their benefit.

"These warnings and demands have been expressed as in a plebiscite in the extensive discussion concerning the proposal of the Conclusions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. Because they have been carried out incompletely, slowly, and inconsistently, they have been the topic of worker demands in the present activities in advance of the congress as well. The LCY can see that through to the end only if it becomes stronger in terms of class. Which accounts for our commitment to fighting resolutely for the worker majority in the ranks of the LC, which also means in its bodies at all levels."

(Koco Bitoljanu, member of the Presidium of the Macedonian LC Central Committee)

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY CC STANDS ON PARTY CLASS STRUCTURE, CADRE POLICY

Belgrade BORBA (supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 85 pp 3-8

[Stands of the LCY Central Committee adopted in Belgrade, November 1985:
"Stands of the LCY Central Committee on the Social and Class Composition of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, on Personnel Policy, and on Improvement of Collective Effort and Responsibility"]

[Text] The public discussion concerning the Proposed Conclusions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee has pointed up shortcomings in implementation of the stands adopted by the 12th LCY Congress with respect to ensuring a more favorable class and social composition of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, consistent implementation of personnel policy and improvement of collective effort, decisionmaking and responsibility. By placing these issues on the agenda the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia accomplishes some of the tasks contained in the Conclusions of the 16th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee and the Work Program. Their importance is enhanced by the upcoming elections in the League of Communists and also by the fact that next year elections will also be held in delegate assemblies of sociopolitical and self-managing communities.

The social and class composition of the League of Communists, personnel policy, and improvement of collective effort and responsibility comprise an issue of essential importance to performance of the leading role of the League of Communists in society, which is in turn crucial to the development of society on the foundations of socialist self-management. The interdependence of these issues is all the greater as the working class and working people become increasingly the protagonists of overall social processes. This interdependence takes on particular importance as preparations are made for the congresses and conferences of the League of Communists, which are being called upon to make a contribution to resolving the present contradictions in society. The solutions as to improvement of the class and social composition and to implementing the principles of personnel policy, collective effort and responsibility must be sought and are to be found in the further democratization of relations within the League of Communists and in the affirmation of those of its attributes which are most expressive of the class and social interest which the working class and working people have in achieving their historical goals.

The Key Issue

The need to strengthen the working class base of the League of Communists is not just a matter of a numerical change of proportions, but above all of a stronger participation of workers in formulating and carrying out the policy and decisions of the League of Communists. One of the most essential causes of the insufficient working class influence on the adoption and implementation of the policy of the League of Communists is also the fact that the commitments of the 10th, 11th and 12th LCY Congresses concerning the decisive role of the workers in the processes of social reproduction have been carried out slowly. The revolutionary course of the League of Communists also depends always and above all on its posture toward the working class, on the influence of that class in the creation of policy and on its participation in carrying it out, and on the extent to which the League of Communists, through its policy and action, expresses and realizes the interests of the working class on the road toward its liberation. The League of Communists can successfully perform its tasks only if in terms of its political-ideological activity and its composition it is a working class organization. This is the key issue, and unless it is solved, there will be no real answer to the other political and ideological issues either.

The causes of the deterioration of the class and social composition also lie in shortcomings in performance of the political-ideological role of the League of Communists, in the shaken confidence because of the discrepancy between words and deeds, because of insufficient responsibility in carrying out the policy of the League of Communists, and also because of the ineffectiveness of its operation in the political system, in the adverse shifts that have taken place in the system of social values, and in the slowness to deal with the pocketbook issues of the workers. The subjective shortcomings in the practice of self-management, significant resistance to implementing the SFRY Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, the ineffectiveness of a considerable number of organizations of the League of Communists in dealing with specific issues and problems, various ideological controversies, the slowness of the League of Communists in clearing them up, and slack political-ideological work with young people in the workplace and in their social environments have also had a considerable impact on the workers' declining interest in being active in organizations of the League of Communists. The policy of enrolling members with membership drives in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the insufficient influence of the rank-and-file on the building of policy, the fact that personnel policy in the League of Communists and in society at large stands apart from the broadest membership and the basic organizations, and from the working people and citizens, and also the tendencies toward bureaucratization of relations in the League of Communists and in society have also made up a set of causes diminishing the already insufficient proportion of workers in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and have been weakening their influence on the formation and conduct of its working class policy.

Even though the processes of socialization and democratization of personnel policy have begun, and even though the strong support of the working class, the working people and citizens has been given to application of its principles

and criteria, personnel policy has not yet become the right and obligation of workers brought into association through self-management and the organized socialist forces. Where its principles have not been consistently realized, there is still room for privatization and for a strengthening of the monopoly of individuals and informal groups, for ignoring political-ideological, ethical and work criteria, and for expansion of excessive informality, leaderism, and demagoguery. All of this could happen where the institution of collective and individual responsibility has been partially or one-sidedly achieved or has been completely displaced.

Responsibility Associated With Results

The idea and the practice of collective effort and responsibility undoubtedly represent an important step toward the further democratization of relations in the League of Communists and in sociopolitical organizations and communities. The application of these principles has helped to eliminate to a considerable extent the unscrupulous struggle for power, harmful manifestations of leaderism, and other negative occurrences and tendencies.

However, the principle of collective effort and responsibility remains short-lived, as have, incidentally, the principles of rotation which were adopted earlier, unless it is accompanied by democratization of relations between the membership and the leadership in the League of Communists. Democracy confined to forums does not bring about essential changes in the actual position and role of the membership of the League of Communists in collective decisionmaking and responsibility for its work and policy. In this case collective effort takes on a democratic appearance of sharing power in forums and between them, but also displays a kind of solidarity of the forums in turning the idea and practice of collective effort and responsibility into a new form of collective power over the membership of the League of Communists.

Application of the principles of collective effort and responsibility is often reduced merely to the questions of the length of the term of office and to internal relations and methods in the work of the League of Communists, in the bodies of other sociopolitical organizations, in self-management bodies, and in government bodies and agencies. This kind of practice makes it more difficult for the institution of collective effort and responsibility to become a more effective and potent instrument for democratizing relations both within the League of Communists and in society.

Taking as its points of departure these and other assessments contained in analyses of the social and class composition of the League of Communists, of personnel policy in the League of Communists and of its impact on the personnel policy in society, and of improvement of collective effort and responsibility, as well as the debate in that meeting, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia deems it necessary that the activity of the League of Communists be directed especially toward the following tasks:

Necessary Changes in the Composition of the Membership

I

1. The strengthening of the ideological unity and unity in action and the greater effectiveness of the policy of the League of Communists requires consistent achievement of its working class nature. To that end appropriate changes are needed in the social and class composition of the membership and leadership of the League of Communists so as to create that balance of political forces that guarantees the constitutional role of the working class in society and the more strongly expressed working class character of policy in its specific achievement. This is to be guaranteed through a higher representation and proportion of workers in its general membership and in all the bodies and forums of the League of Communists and of society as a whole.

The Central Committee stresses that measures have to be undertaken to achieve the kind of social and class composition which will guarantee a higher share of workers from associated labor, from the ranks of the technical intelligentsia and scientists, as well as agricultural producers in the organizations and in the bodies of leadership of the League of Communists. Along those lines party members must also strive for them to have a greater share in the bodies of other sociopolitical organizations, sociopolitical communities, and self-managed communities.

In order to enhance the meaning of involving the workers in the political action of the League of Communists and on the whole to achieve their greater influence on its policy, there is a need for greater effectiveness in the struggle to overcome the economic crisis and in improving the material and social position of the workers, for more vigorous action against various deformations in society and against the growing social stratification not founded upon work and the results of work, and for resolute and uncompromising struggle against the representatives of nationalism, technobureaucratic statism, particularism, and other negative phenomena which weaken the unity of the LCY and of Yugoslavia.

The working class essence of the policy of the LC is not strengthened merely by increasing the number of workers in its ranks. The worker majority does not automatically and in and of itself guarantee that the LC will be revolutionary. The essential thing is that the working class gain more real social and political power and that the workers who are in the LC and the working class as a whole participate still more strongly in the formulation and implementation of the policy of the LC and in decisionmaking in society at large. The League of Communists must with the entire body of its policy create the conditions for still more successful resolution of the issues on which the social position of the workers depends.

Worker Majority--Programmatic Goal

2. The worker majority, as a programmatic goal of the League of Communists, needs to be achieved along with a greater openness of the LC to all creative and innovative forces which are speeding up social development, but not on the

basis of narrowing its class and social composition. The working class is increasingly made up of specialists, researchers, planners of new production, scientists, that is, all of those who on the basis of their work contribution have a direct impact on the development of the productive forces and the results of whose work are being confirmed on both the domestic and world markets. For us they are objectively that social force which guarantees expanded reproduction on the basis of new technological and production programs and creates the conditions for inclusion in the international division of labor on an equal footing, and thereby as well provides the objective prerequisites for the constitutional position of the working class to be realized more rapidly and consistently.

The way out of the present economic crisis depends both upon raising productivity of the entire society and on greater technological independence, which depends decisively on all members of the working class being interested and motivated to humanize production relations and to democratize political relations, and to develop production relying on science and present-day technology in production processes. This also presupposes that the social and material position of personnel who prepare, plan, and develop new production programs and increase the productivity of existing ones depends directly on the results of their labor.

There Is No Room for Careerists in the LC

3. Basic organizations of the League of Communists bear full responsibility in their activity to enroll new members to consistently honor the criteria set forth in the LCY Bylaws, guided above all by the commitments and practical activities of individuals aimed at achieving the vital interests of the working class and at ensuring its constitutional role in decisionmaking concerning the surplus value of labor. They have a duty to overcome opportunism, exclusiveness, and even the sectarian attitude toward enrollment of workers and protagonists of scientific-technological progress, creators of new values in physical production and all other sectors of social labor, and also toward the enrollment of young people who are in the process of obtaining their schooling.

All the organizations and bodies of leadership of the League of Communists have a duty to state the reasons for the declining number of members of the League of Communists, of direct producers in particular. The League of Communists should strengthen its ranks not only by enrolling new members, but also by ridding itself of inactive members, those who entered it out of careerist and similar motives and who have been sullyng the image of the member of the LC by their unbecoming behavior.

The central and provincial committees of the League of Communists have a responsibility to organize an intensive effort to halt this process. Achievement of a worker majority in the LCY remains an important aspect of the struggle to achieve the essence of its working class policy.

II

4. Consistent achievement of the working class character of personnel policy has decisive importance to speeding up the development of the material and productive forces, to effective economic employment of socially owned resources, and to active involvement of the Yugoslav economy in the international division of labor, to new inroads in development of socialist self-management, to elimination of social sources and points of support for statist and group-ownership forces, and to opposing attempts to undermine the achievements of the revolution.

The Base Concerning Personnel Policy

The League of Communists needs a personnel policy which in this stage of development will make it possible to overcome the resistance and slowness in carrying out the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program and which will facilitate more effective functioning of the economic and political system. Faster and better organized assimilation of new production programs, knowledge, and technology, the rise of general social productivity and reliance on our own resources are to be achieved by obtaining the appropriate competent personnel from among the ranks of specialists and amateur enthusiasts.

The League of Communists has to fight the one-sided orientation in personnel policy which is reduced merely to the function of assignment of personnel, but neglects the policy of creating and developing new personnel with polytechnical education and experience, personnel capable of drawing the right conclusions from the expansion of key production technologies and of taking steps toward our inclusion in the international division of labor on an equal footing. Room will thereby be objectively created for greater participation of the workers and of creative people in bodies of leadership within the League of Communists.

5. In the League of Communists and in society as a whole there must be further socialization of personnel policy. This is to be achieved by democratic election of the best and most able personnel to positions of responsibility at all levels and through greater mobility of personnel from the bottom up and in the opposite direction, which will result in more extensive deprofessionalization of political positions. It is the obligation of bodies, organizations, and members of the League of Communists to frustrate tendencies toward accumulation, monopolization, and privatization of certain social functions and to overcome the horizontal rotation of personnel, which is still pronounced. Personnel policy must be based on the real, objectively evaluated, and democratically accredited needs of the social community, not on the personnel schemes of closed circles and influential groups and individuals.

It is therefore a sound demand of the membership that the broadest base should have a decisive impact on the conduct of personnel policy and on the choice of personnel for positions of leadership at all levels. The most essential thing concerning electoral procedure is that the membership of the League of Communists exercise its protagonist role in electing delegates and bodies of leadership, i.e., that the responsibility of individuals and bodies to the membership be emphasized.

Public Scrutiny of Work in All Structures

6. Party members in organizations of the Socialist Alliance and the Federation of Trade Unions must strive for the Socialist Alliance and the Federation of Trade Unions, as protagonists designated by the constitution of political activities in the election of personnel to responsible posts in society and the government, to become the basic factors for further socialization and democratization of personnel policy and a real barrier to all tendencies toward privatization and monopoly in personnel policy. In this context even the bodies for coordinating personnel policy should be consultative and coordinative, while the specific personnel decisions would be the task of the authorized bodies and organizations.

Public scrutiny of proceedings must be ensured in the conduct of personnel policy and in the work of all competent bodies and agencies. This is a particular task of party members in the bodies and organizations of the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, the Federation of Trade Unions, and all other organized socialist forces, as well as in the news media.

7. Party members must strive resolutely for the principles and criteria of personnel policy which have been established to be fully respected in elections of delegations, delegates, and holders of other positions of social responsibility. The makeup of delegations and delegate assemblies should express the unity of all the progressive forces of society, which can be achieved only through greater involvement in election activities and broader inclusion in the delegate system of all working people and citizens who are socialists and who are oriented toward self-management.

It is the obligation of the members, organizations, and bodies of the League of Communists to stand in the way of any form of sectarianism. Personnel who are not members of the League of Communists, but who have clearly committed themselves to the further development of socialist self-management, to the equality, brotherhood and unity of our nationalities, and who under the problematical conditions of the country's socioeconomic and political development have been fighting for the same goals should also be elected from all structures and from workplaces and other communities to the bodies of sociopolitical organizations, as delegates and as members of delegations in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities and of sociopolitical organizations, and to other bodies as well.

8. In the upcoming elections and personnel changes there should be strong affirmation of the criterion of knowledge, ability, and past performance. The search is above all for creative personnel who will respond successfully to the challenges of the times in which we live and which lie ahead of us. Our society is entering a stage of development when the stagnant state in the development of socialist self-management and economic life needs to be overcome on the basis of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program and development based more and more on highly productive and effective conduct of economic activity and on new technical and technological advances, and on that basis structural problems and other inefficiencies are to be eliminated and more successful inclusion in the international division of labor achieved. Our

future development will be based more and more on science, up-to-date technology, computers, and other creative potential in the chain of innovation, which should also be the basic point of departure in our policy of relying on our own resources.

The present situation calls for fighters, for persistent and principled personnel who will fight for consistent achievement of the interests of the working class, people with proven moral attributes who base their material position on their work and creativity. These must become the primary criteria by which personnel are recognized and differentiated.

The Force of Personal Example

9. During nominations and elections of personnel to the bodies and forums of the League of Communists there must be insistence on personnel who in deeds, in the actual struggle against statist, nationalistic, and other negative social tendencies, have confirmed their political-ideological commitment to the revolutionary course of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. They must be personnel who have been actively contributing to strengthening the League of Communists in its ideology, action, and organization and who are capable of organizing and conducting political-ideological activity and of fighting decisively to carry out the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In their entire work, behavior, and political-ideological activity they must exert a constructive and mobilizing impact in their community and must express the interests and needs not only of their own community, but also the interest of a unified Yugoslavia.

The personal attributes of the member of the League of Communists are also essential to carrying out personnel policy and thereby also to realization of the social role of the League of Communists as the vanguard alliance of ideological fighters. The party member is required and expected to act by force of his personal example, to be a creative and independent individual ready and able for revolutionary social activity in any situation.

10. Comprehensive personnel policy requires long-term planning of the real needs of society, of work organizations, sociopolitical organizations and self-managing organizations and communities for personnel of a particular makeup. The quality of personnel development and optimum orientation in the development and growth of personnel must be based on the programmatic goals contained in the policy of the League of Communists, which also requires the application of scientific knowledge and appropriate methods and forms in the development of such personnel. Within the framework of self-managing, delegate, and other bodies party members must fight constantly for application of the principles and criteria of personnel policy in the work of the bodies and agencies required to implement it. The planning of personnel needs must be an integral part of long-range, medium-term, and short-term development plans of all organizations of associated labor, sociopolitical organizations, and sociopolitical communities.

There is an indispensable need for greater speed in building the system and professionally competent unified personal records in organizations of

associated labor, other self-managed organizations and communities, opstinas, provinces, republics, and the Federation in order to constantly monitor the performance, development, improvement of qualifications, and movement of personnel in an organized way.

11. As active and equal members of public organizations and civic associations, party members must strive for the kind of personnel policy within those organizations that will facilitate the fullest possible satisfaction of the material, cultural, and other needs and the enrichment of the individual inclinations of the working people and citizens. At the same time this signifies a resolute struggle against tendencies toward shutting off those organizations, toward privatization and usurpation of rights in them by individuals or groups, against attempts to use them at times even for reactionary political objectives.

These organizations and associations are one of the broadest, but also most concrete fields of life of political-ideological and creative commitment of party members, in which by their own example they have an everyday influence on people, on human relations, and on social relations.

Offering an Opportunity to Young People

12. The League of Communists, members of the League of Communists in the Socialist Alliance and other organized socialist forces, must strive for young, able, and professionally competent personnel to be a more decisive protagonist for building the modern productive forces and for more rapid development of socialist production relations, for introduction of technical and technological advances, and for cultural knowledge and for their application in production and in social practice as a whole. Building up the appropriate content and working methods in the Socialist Youth League and in other organizations of young people which will express the interest and ambitions of young people and connect them to the specific interests of the working class and the prospects for the future development of socialist self-management democracy should also contribute to this.

Able, educated, and professionally competent young people in production must be elected in much larger numbers to delegations of basic self-managing organizations and communities, to responsible positions in associated labor, in the system of delegate assemblies, in the bodies of sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations at all levels of the organization of society. The way should be opened for generations of young people to take upon themselves responsibility for our society's future development, and one aspect of this is that the most able among them should be elected even to the most responsible positions in the League of Communists and in society. Young party members in the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia and its bodies of leadership must make a primary commitment to these tasks.

13. A higher representation of women in the bodies of the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations and communities should be one of the primary goals of personnel policy. This cannot be achieved solely using the mechanism of quotas, but rather through the constant commitment of the

League of Communists and other socialist forces to the actual improvement of the social and economic position of women in the production process and in all domains of social life.

The League of Communists should resolutely oppose conservative political and other resistance and prejudice which still exists in certain quarters and should energetically strive for much more frequent election of women even to the most responsible positions in the League of Communists, in sociopolitical organizations, in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, and in other self-managing bodies.

Improve the Political-Ideological Effort

14. The complicated tasks which lie ahead of the League of Communists necessitate a broader and better-organized effort at political-ideological development and Marxist education of the membership and leadership personnel. Particular attention should be paid to programs, to teaching personnel, to methods, and to expansion of the network of seminars and courses, political schools, Marxist centers, youth schools, and schools for self-managers. Their work should be constantly improved and brought into line with the needs of the League of Communists and those of society. It is a particular obligation of organizations and leadership bodies of the League of Communists to work systematically to select, orient, and equip personnel for scientific research and theoretical work in the League of Communists.

In order to raise the ideological and theoretical level of the membership and bodies of leadership of the League of Communists the obligation contained in the bylaws should be consistently discharged with respect to their ongoing education. The work of the "Josip Broz Tito" School of Politics of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Kumrovec should turn considerably more toward ideological and theoretical development of members of bodies of leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and indeed even of the highest bodies. There is a need to organize in greater measure than up to now seminars, round tables, discussions, and other suitable forms of examining the urgent problems of socialist practice and for Marxist ideological and theoretical conceptualization of the further development of socialist self-management and the development of socialism in the world.

III

Unity and Democracy

15. In the context of a socialist self-managing society the League of Communists must base its activities more on the joint responsibility of the membership and leadership for the overall historical and current political practice in social developments.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia should strive still more for all of its members to work on their own initiative in everyday practice, guided and oriented by the program, documents of congresses, resolutions, and conclusions. Only clearly stated goals and appropriate methods make it possible for its

members, organizations, and bodies to operate in society successfully and creatively without a great many meetings, sessions, and statements of position, when the programmatic elaboration of their activity is fixed for a relatively lengthy period, which means that the historic interest of the working class has thereby been defined in every community and in society as a whole.

Ideological unity and unity of action in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia must be the fruit of democracy in its ranks, of respect for alternative proposals and initiatives, of open and critical judgment of the virtues of every proposal and of its ideological, humanistic, and practical political scope and content. That places unity in democracy and democracy in unity, through a constant development and strengthening of democratic relations in the organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia concerning every question of strategy or specific policy issue at the service of society's progress and development.

16. The League of Communists must make a contribution so that the processes of democratic and collective decisionmaking and responsibility develop more rapidly in all the basic units of society in which basic social relations are carried on most directly. There needs to be vigorous suppression of the rather widespread phenomenon whereby decisionmaking is still decisively influenced by executive bodies, administrative bodies, professional management bodies and other bodies and professional staff services, political bodies, including even bodies of the League of Communists. These bodies must be more open to the influence of the working people and must operate strictly within the confines of their constitutional and legal powers.

17. In the work of all bodies, organizations, and holders of public office there is a need to tighten personal and collective responsibility as a social relation which is constantly under social oversight, above all that of the constituency. Such responsibility must be both individual and collective and must embrace all those who exercise public authority and all institutions making decisions so that the optimum interests of society are guaranteed.

Overcoming the double standard in evaluating work and responsibility and the hierarchical structure of leadership are a precondition for the functioning of democracy within the communist vanguard. General responsibility can no longer be tolerated where bodies are concerned, and specific responsibility is to be imposed when it is a question of basic organizations and individual members of the League of Communists. In the context of a socialist self-managed society, the activity of the League of Communists must be based more on the joint responsibility of the membership and leadership for the overall historical and current political practice of the League of Communists.

Responsibility measures must also presuppose a public rendering of accounts for decisions made, for the results and consequences of decisions, and for the exercise of public authority. This presupposes that democratic measures be regularly taken advantage of, such as joint and individual determination of obligations and regular evaluation of the work of collective bodies and of the individuals in them.

The sound criticism that has been made to date of the insufficient effectiveness of the measures of responsibility which the system envisages must be satisfied by transferring the question of responsibility out of exclusive structures, bodies, and organizations of the political system and transformed into responsibility to the socialist public. This should become the regular practice and task of all bodies and organizations of the League of Communists, of the bodies of self-management in organizations of associated labor, of the bodies of sociopolitical organizations, and the bodies of sociopolitical communities, and appropriate procedures and mechanisms need to be elaborated for that purpose.

Elect People Who Enjoy General Confidence

18. Consistent achievement of collective effort, decisionmaking, and responsibility necessitates a broadening of the practice of taking office following regular employment. The return of officeholders to the same or similar jobs from which they came could abruptly halt the harmful spread of political professionalism and leaderist behavior. That would also open up room for more direct influence and involvement of the direct producers in all bodies of leadership.

The organization, membership, and procedure of all collective bodies should be so regulated as to require collective effort and decisionmaking as well as the responsibility of every member of the body for his own work and for the work of the body as a whole.

The practice of "moving" individuals from one senior position to another during the term of office should be prevented, since this narrows the personnel base and does not do enough to achieve the essence of Tito's initiative. An occasion for a change of direction is offered by the upcoming elections in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in all society's sociopolitical structures.

19. The principle of equal and appropriate representation of personnel from the republics and provinces in posts in all bodies and agencies in the Federation where decisions are made about interests related to the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, where this has been envisaged by the constitution and positions jointly adopted, should be consistently implemented as set forth in the SFRY Constitution and social compact. Personnel who enjoy the respect and confidence in all republics and provinces should be elected to the highest positions in the bodies of the Federation, but young people should also be elected who on the basis of their abilities and contributions to implementing the policy of the LCY can be accepted both in the republics and provinces and also in the Federation. The right of the republics and provinces to nominate personnel for the most important posts in the Federation also presupposes making it possible for all republics and provinces to influence those nominations. That is why the responsibility of those holding office in federal bodies and agencies must be exercised within the limits of the bodies in which the function is performed.

20. There is a need to ensure in the bodies and forums of the League of Communists that kind of ethnic representation which will reflect to the greatest possible degree the ethnic composition of the population in all communities. That principle, along with consistent attention to the social and class composition, will contribute to strengthening brotherhood and unity and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities.

21. In the democratic procedure of elections, and in the process of nominations, candidacy, and elections a larger number of candidates should be nominated for all positions, including even the highest elective positions. In the election of collective bodies in the League of Communists electoral procedure should as a rule involve more nominees than the number to be elected.

More attention must be paid to election of all members of the collective body, rather than to the election of individuals who are to alternate in the positions of leadership during the term of office. Consideration should be given here to their ability and professional competence in achieving quality and responsible performance of the tasks and obligations entrusted to them, and personnel decisions whereby the personal, social, and other problems of individuals are resolved must be prevented.

Work as the Condition for Holding Office

22. The length of the term of office of those holding certain positions of public responsibility should be regarded as an integral part of achieving the essence of the principle of collective effort and responsibility, but those principles should not be reduced to limiting the length of the term of office. More harm than good has come from a kind of introduction of the 1-year term of office even to those positions whose powers are truly small, and the practice of changing people every year even in those positions which do not objectively have any great influence on decisionmaking.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia believes that with respect to the length of the term of office of members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee the present provision of the bylaws should be retained, that is, their term of office should last 4 years with the possibility of reelection to an additional 4 successive years in exceptional cases; that the term of office of the chairman of the Presidium should be 4 years and that of the secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee 2 years; that the terms of office of the chairmen and secretaries of the presidiums of the central committees and provincial committees and the Committee of the Organization of the LCY in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] should as a rule be 2 years; that the term of office of the chairmen and secretaries of opstina committees be 2 years, with the possibility of election for another 2 years, and that the term of office of executive secretaries be 4 years.

The LCY Central Committee also advocates that other sociopolitical organizations and sociopolitical communities analyze experience in applying the commitments made up to now concerning the length of the term of office and within the framework of the Socialist Alliance establish those solutions which are best on behalf of consistent performance of collective effort, decisionmaking, and responsibility.

Appropriate changes in the Bylaws of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should also be made in order to develop democratic relations in the League of Communists.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

VUSKOVIC STUDY OF LCY ETHNIC STRUCTURE

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 85 pp 5-9

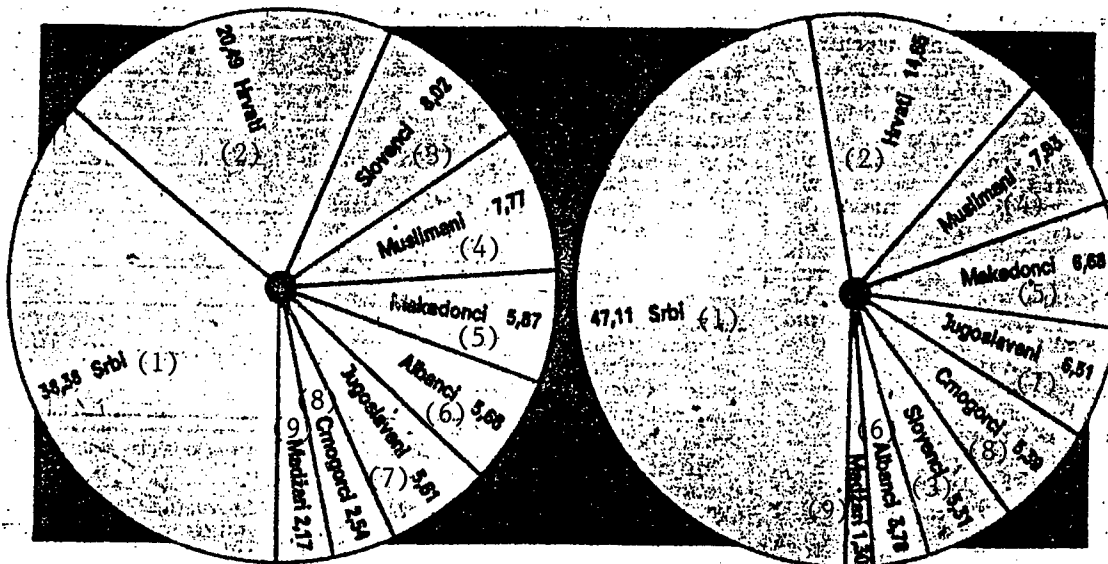
[Article by Jelena Lovric: "The Ethnic Map of the Party"]

[Text] A time of general curiosity and indeed even of asking questions about the party and also a time of emphatic talk about the nationality aspect might perhaps be a suitable time to begin to talk as well about a topic that has up to now seemed to be taboo or at least has been skillfully and persistently avoided: the ethnic structure of the League of Communists. Examination of the features and trends in the ethnic composition of the party certainly has manifold social and political importance, since not only is the League of Communists operating in an ethnically very complicated social community, which is increasingly evident, but also its characteristics in this regard could have exceptional weight because we are after all dealing with the leading ideological and sociopolitical force. That is all the more important because in crisis social situations certain group allegiances (among others the ethnic) take on greater importance.

As far as we know, the only research we have done into the ethnic composition of the League of Communists, and that was done by Split professor Boris Vuskovic, shows that there are very large differences in the proportions of the various ethnic groups in the composition of the party, that is, that the degree to which the party is rooted in the various ethnic groups varies greatly. The Montenegrins, the Serbs, those who declare themselves to be Yugoslavs, and the Macedonians represent a higher proportion in the party than in the population, the share of Muslims in the party almost coincides with their share in the population, and all the other ethnic groups have a considerably smaller share in the League of Communists than in the population.

In an analysis prepared for a recent meeting of the LCY Central Committee concerning the social and class composition of the LCY the ethnic composition of the party membership was referred to almost in passing, and it was noted that "in some communities with a multinational composition of the population satisfactory results are still not being achieved in this regard, so that in those communities there is still a disproportion between the ethnic composition of the population and the ethnic composition of the membership of the LC. The figures show that in spite of the rather uniform absolute increase in the membership, there is a continuing underrepresentation of certain nationalities in

the membership relative to their share in the population. Croats, who have a share of 19.8 percent in the composition of the SFRY population and a share of 13.85 percent in the composition of the LCY, are lagging behind most pronouncedly, Albanians have a share of 7.7 percent in the country's total population, but 4.1 percent of membership of the LCY, and Slovenes have a share of 7.8 percent in the population, but 5.17 percent in the LCY."



Share of the various nationalities: left--in the population; right--in membership of the LCY.

Key: 1. Serbs 4. Muslims 7. Yugoslavs
2. Croats 5. Macedonians 8. Montenegrins
3. Slovenes 6. Albanians 9. Hungarians

Even though it is unrealistic to expect absolutely corresponding proportional representation of all ethnic groups, that is, that every group have exactly the share in the party that it has in the population, still we see here that both the scientists and the politicians agree in their assessment that differences in the proportional representation of the various nationalities and ethnic minorities in the party are so large as to be politically unacceptable. At the extreme ends the differences are even drastic, since in 1971 Montenegrins and Yugoslavs had a share in the membership of the LCY that was all of six- to sevenfold greater than that of Hungarians. In 10 years the differences between the extreme positions in the ranking have been considerably reduced, since Montenegrins, who have always had a high proportion in the party, now have a share that is only 3.5-fold greater than that of Hungarians, who in turn have always been the least well represented. To be sure, in this extreme case we are dealing with relatively small groups, since Montenegrins, Yugoslavs, and Hungarians together do not represent even one-tenth of the adult population of Yugoslavia. This closing of the gap between the most numerous and least numerous is the result of a kind of resettlement that has taken

place in the party in that over the period of 10 years the League of Communists almost doubled its ranks. Within the context of those developments there were considerable changes in the proportional representation of the various ethnic groups. Although all the nationalities and ethnic minorities increased the number of their people in the party in absolute terms, they were not all equally successful in that: Muslims and Yugoslavs were the leaders, while Croats and Slovenes were at the tail end.

But it is extremely important to compare the figures on the growth of the party membership to trends in the population which could place them in a significant relative relationship. This is best seen in the example of Yugoslavs and Muslims. Although these two groups had markedly the largest growth of membership relative to the others and the same growth relative to one another, their results were nevertheless different. Over those 10 years Yugoslavs immensely increased their share in the population, more than fourfold, which cut in half their relative proportion in the ethnic map of the party. Muslims have been swelling their ranks in the party faster than in the population. Thus because of the differing flexure in the population an identical growth of Yugoslavs and Muslims in membership of the LCY caused the share of Muslims to nearly double, while the share of Yugoslavs in the ethnic composition of the party was cut in half. A similar situation, although on somewhat more modest scale, occurred with the growth of the Macedonians and Albanians.

All in all, in 1981, the year for which the last altogether accurate figures exist because of the population census, one out of every fourth adult member of the League of Communists was a Montenegrin, one out of every six was a Serb, one out of every seven a Yugoslav, Macedonian, or Muslim, one out of every 10 a Croat, and one out of every 11 an Albanian or Slovene, and one out of every 12 a Hungarian. (The pattern is somewhat different if we compare it to the party membership of the entire population of the respective nationality, but it is more accurate if we take into account only the adult population.)

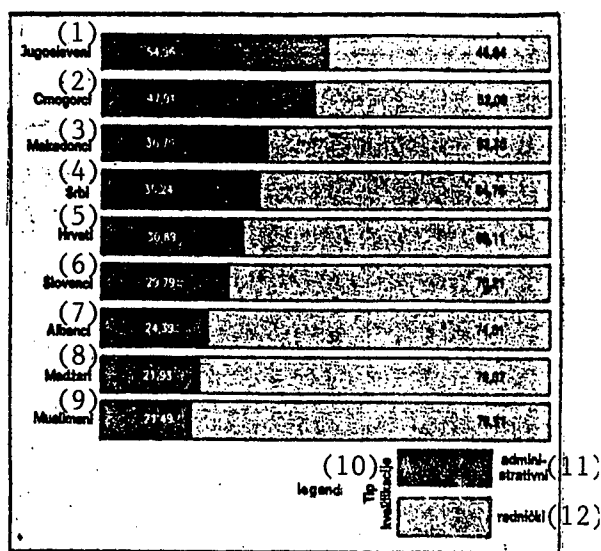
This means that over 10 years not only did the gap narrow between the first and the last, but the differences were also moderated between the various rankings on the ladder, which indicates a certain global process in the direction of equality. But in spite of these developments, which by and large are constructive, we are still dealing with a very clear dichotomous division of proportions of the ethnic groups in the party membership. The same group of four ethnic groups still has a higher share in the party than in the population (Montenegrins, Serbs, Yugoslavs, and Macedonians), while on the other side there is still the group of the same four ethnic groups which have relatively smaller proportions in the party than they should have on the basis of their share in the population (Croats, Slovenes, Albanians, and Hungarians). Only the Muslims have left the group of those lagging behind and are now somewhere in the middle. Thus, although, as Boris Vuskovic says, there has been a certain global leveling out, and graduation has essentially replaced what once were large intervals--the gap between the present groups is still being confirmed in a way and is in fact getting deeper.

A Party of the Employed

In studying and analyzing the ethnic composition of the LCY membership the proportional representation of the various nationalities and ethnic minorities and their change is the most that can be exactly determined. We can only assume an explanation for the differences, since the official statistics on party membership contain no other data linked to ethnic characteristics which might suggest some conclusions. It would be simplest and at the same time most erroneous to suppose that some nationalities love the party more or that the party is more inclined toward certain nationalities depending on our opinion of who does the choosing.

"As for the disproportionate share of ethnic groups in the composition of the LC membership, it is of decisive political and sociological importance that the ethnic composition of the membership of the LC is by and large not shaped as an independent characteristic, but is essentially mediated by other characteristics of the membership," Vuskovic says. "Among other things, not only does this argument disavow any possible nationalistic interpretation of the present disproportionate share of the ethnic groups in the composition of the LC membership, that is, a greater or lesser 'inclination' of the LC toward this or that ethnic group, but at the same time it is an elementary prerequisite of any purposive effort to investigate and establish the social roots of these disproportions. It would seem that in the context of the complicated mediations of the ethnic composition of the membership first importance should be paid to the socioeconomic characteristics of the ethnic populations." Taking this tack, Vuskovic compared the ethnic groups with respect to livelihood, and it immediately turned out that there are major differences among the ethnic groups in this respect: among the Serbs almost half are in the labor force, while among the Albanians, who are at the tail end, this proportion is about one-fourth. (The figures are for 1971.) It can best be seen that the differences in this respect are not negligible from the datum that at that time more than 80 percent of party members were members of the labor force. If we go on to compare the ethnic groups with respect to the share of the labor force and the labor sector we get a ranking led by Yugoslavs (more than 80 percent in the labor force), and again the Albanians are at the end with only slightly more than one-fourth in the labor force, and most of them are in the private sector.

The composition of the labor force with respect to skills proves to be extremely important to the share of the various ethnic groups in LC membership. After all, the composition of the party membership with respect to skills departs essentially from the same composition of the entire labor force: the white-collar skill category (senior postsecondary specialized education, junior postsecondary specialized education, secondary specialized education, and elementary specialized education) has a far larger representation (68 percent higher than its share in the labor force) than the blue-collar category (highly skilled, skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled), whose share in the party is 33 percent less than in the labor force. Even in this respect there are truly immense differences from one ethnic group to another: In our internal division some nationalities produce more "scribes," while others are known as the most ordinary "toilers."



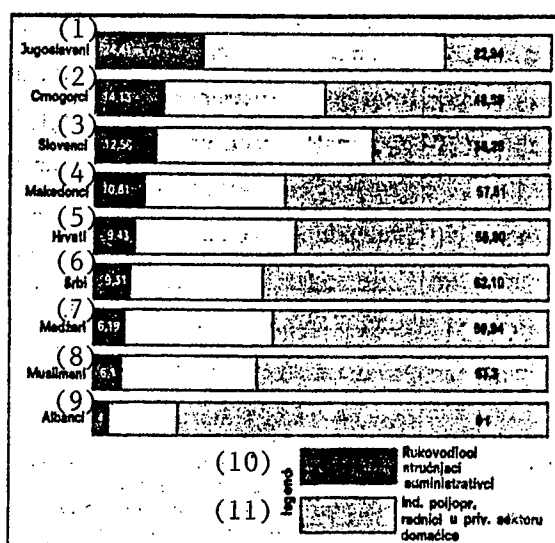
Skill categories in the various ethnic groups.

Key: 1. Yugoslavs--54.96; 45.04	7. Albanians--24.39; 74.61
2. Montenegrins--47.91; 52.09	8. Hungarians--21.93; 78.07
3. Macedonians--36.70; 63.30	9. Muslims--21.49; 78.51
4. Serbs--31.24; 64.76	10. Skill category
5. Croats--30.89; 69.11	11. Blue-collar
6. Slovenes--29.79; 70.21	12. White-collar

A Party of Managers

Since the various social categories have widely differing shares in the population and in the party membership (for example, specialists are threefold more highly represented in the party than workers or indeed 16-fold more highly represented than private farmers), Vuskovic compared the share in the various ethnic groups of those social categories which are most numerous in the party (managers, specialists, and officeworkers) and the three categories of those least well represented in the party (private farmers, workers employed in the private sector, and housewives). He arrived at the datum that the greatest number of those in the first group, which is the most numerous group in the party, is among Yugoslavs, and the lowest among Albanians. And conversely, among the Albanians there is the largest number of those who are least represented in the party, and among the Yugoslavs the fewest. In the first group the Yugoslavs, who have a 15-fold higher representation in the party, are eightfold more prominent than Albanians, but there are a fourth as many of them in the group which is marginally covered by membership in the LC. Put simply, the League of Communists is a party of members of the labor force, of members of the employed labor force, of specialists, managers, and office personnel, so that the higher the proportion of these in a nationality, the larger its share will be in the party ranks. In order to verify this conclusion, Professor Vuskovic even cross-tabulated the social-occupational and skill-specific composition of the various ethnic groups to compile a hypothetical ranking that shows what share the various nationalities ought to have in

the party on the basis of those characteristics. And to a considerable extent it coincides with the actual ranking. But there are also interesting differences: There ought to be more Serbs in the party than there are according to the imaginary ranking, and fewer Slovenes. Montenegrins have twice as high a proportion in the party as one would anticipate on the basis of that data, and half as many Hungarians. These discrepancies indicate that in addition to the high correlation between socioeconomic features and proportions in the party (which Vuskovic nevertheless considers to be the basic limiting factor), there are other influences as well and other circumstances which have an especially strong impact on predisposition toward the party, particularly in certain ethnic groups. And it is difficult for a scientist to grasp all those things that might have an influence here, since probably there are several of those influential circumstances, and probably they are not equally valid in all cases, but vary in importance from one ethnic group to another.



The share of the three largest social categories in the LC (managers, specialists, and officeworkers) and the three smallest (private farmers, workers employed in the private sector, and housewives) relative to the size of their respective ethnic groups.

- Key:
1. Yugoslavs--24.41; 22.94
 2. Montenegrins--14.13; 48.50
 3. Slovenes--12.50; 38.28
 4. Macedonians--10.81; 57.51
 5. Croats--9.43; 56.80
 6. Serbs--9.31; 62.10
 7. Hungarians--6.19; 59.94
 8. Muslims--6.1; 61.3
 9. Albanians--4; 81
 10. Managers, specialists, officeworkers
 11. Private farmers, workers employed in the private sector, housewives

The answers of the men of science we talked to on this topic have not all pointed in the same direction and have ranged from indications of the differing degree of participation of the various nationalities in the National Liberation Struggle to the suggestion that some thought should also be given to the dangerous political phenomenon that when the workers reach a certain standard of living they lose political energy. Vladimir Goati, for example, points to the importance of religion, saying that belonging to a religion does not always have the same importance. Boris Vuskovic also says that attention also should be paid to the impact of religion, which is incompatible as a world outlook with membership in the LC. The deep-rootedness of that type of consciousness and its level of relation to the church have been very unevenly distributed over the expanse of our society. Pointing that there are inexplicably few Hungarians in the party, Vuskovic tells us that he accidentally became aware of a datum which could be the key in this case: 90 percent of the Catholic priests in Vojvodina are of Hungarian descent.

A Party of Minority Groups

In the spectrum of those influential factors we should in no case forget that membership in the LC as a factor of personal and collective social advancement does not by any means have the same importance from one area of society to another. Ivan Siber, speaking about the situation in Slovenia, says that the higher the level of the society, the more important work performance is to obtaining a particular position in the social structure, while political allegiance becomes less and less important. In the context of examining the possible influence of the party card on individual and collective social advancement Vuskovic takes note of another circumstance which is probably important. That is, segments of the ethnic minorities living outside their "native" region are in principle considerably better represented in the party than is the case with that segment of the ethnic group that is living in its "native" region. (The only exception to this are the Albanians, who have a lower representation in the party outside Kosovo than within the province, and another are the Muslims, who show no difference as to their location.)

Ethnic Composition of the LCY Membership				
Nationality	1968.	1972.	1976.	1981.
Montenegrins	72140	84566	87884	114191
Croats	198685	172370	222023	310096
Macedonians	74555	84019	91657	141479
Muslims	45047	49635	89584	167984
Slovenes	70027	61603	88137	112391
Serbs	582128	498375	710651	997323
Albanians	37455	34836	53556	80070
Hungarians	13966	11734	19022	27546
Yugoslavs	37000	39041	79637	137878

Taking Zagreb as an example, Ivan Siber argues that every minority group shows from the statistical standpoint the same form of behavior with respect to

political allegiance: In that city not only one out of every three Montenegrins and one out of every three Serbs, but even one out of every three Slovenes is a party member. In explaining that Siber points out that in general there are three forms of behavior of minority groups, and all three can be identified in our context. When a minority group is markedly homogeneous, it retains its traditional forms of behavior. The second case is when a minority group is markedly devoted to the government, indeed perhaps even markedly in favor of the regime: It accepts the present system and looks to it for protection and security. The third version, which is incidentally evident throughout the world, is where minority groups are more receptive to leftwing movements, finding their own political security and even general security in them.

It might be easy to conclude from the fact we have mentioned, that almost all ethnic groups have a higher share in party membership of other republics and provinces than in "their own" region and that then the parent ethnic group, which is most numerous, as a rule has a lower share, that the republic and provincial party organizations are exceptionally open to all ethnic groups. Only two republic party organizations deviate from this: The Macedonian LC and the Montenegrin LC, in which the "parent" nationalities represent larger groups than in the population. But even between them there is a difference: In the Macedonian LC the Serbs are also "predominant" along with the Macedonians, while in the Montenegrin LC "absolutely no other ethnic group than the Montenegrins has a higher share in the membership than in the population, and this incidentally has no foundation whatsoever in differences in socioeconomic features of the ethnic populations, since according to them both the Serbs and Croats and the ethnically indeterminate Yugoslavs in SR [Socialist Republic] Montenegro ought to have a share in the membership of the LC not only higher than their share in the population, but also greater than the share of the Montenegrins. Of course, the available figures only allow us to ascertain, but not to explain, this situation, which certainly has complicated social sources." (Vuskovic)

In spite of this predominant openness of almost all the republic and provincial party organizations to all ethnic groups, we certainly should mention that over the last decade there has nevertheless been a tendency noted toward a slight drop in the share of "other" ethnic groups and an increase in the "parent or domestic" group. This is probably the result of a certain ethnic homogenization of the population.

The Possibility of a Trauma

Although differences in how deeply rooted the LC is in the various ethnic groups measured by the number of members cannot be equated with the degree of party influence in those groups, and although within the context of the change in the ethnic composition of the membership of the LC there have been two favorable overall features, openness to all ethnic groups and a certain process, though rather slow, of equalization of the proportions of the various ethnic groups, it still remains uncontestable that there are very large differences and disproportions in the share of the various ethnic groups in the party. The uneven participation is by and large rooted in objective circumstances,

that is, it has not resulted from any political favoritism or marginalization either. But this still does not mean that this situation can be accepted. After all, underrepresentation of the LC in particular ethnic groups obviously signifies a narrowing of the room for it to exert influence, which no political organization can allow itself, especially since these are ethnic groups in a very complicated ethnic community, especially one that is socialist and self-managed.

"Gradually overcoming the uneven ethnic proportions in membership of the LC, that is, broadening the influence of the LC in all ethnic groups, requires a long-lived, organized, and systematic political action on the part of the organization of the LC, which we assume," Boris Vuskovic says, "has not been sufficiently evident up to now. Insistence on this kind of action signifies rejection both of the haphazard approach and also the approach of a deliberate drive, while at the same time it rejects both the bureaucratic and the nationalistic conception of the action, which are inclined toward a petty counting of 'souls' without respecting the real roots of certain disproportions, which are tolerable even in political terms.

"However, insofar as the unevenness of participation of ethnic groups in the composition of LC membership or differences in the extent to which the League of Communists is represented in the various ethnic groups have been large and lasting, rather than temporary and diffuse, then without question the possibility has existed if not of an actual political instrumentalization of the League of Communists, then at least of the engendering of a certain psychological trauma which could inflict on the organization of the League of Communists inestimable political harm and could make it considerably more difficult to exert influence in society."

Let us mention in conclusion that in the "passing" analysis of the LC Central Committee which we have already quoted from there is a conclusion that is by no means made in passing, to the effect that "even though it is not objectively possible to anticipate exactly the same share of all the ethnic groups in LC membership and in the population, we still should conclude that the differences between the portions of the various nationalities and ethnic minorities in the composition of the membership of the LCY and of their share in the structure of the population are so great as to require more comprehensive analysis" and that the "organizations and bodies of the LC, and especially the central and provincial committees, should devote greater attention to this issue."

If this suggests that the veil of secrecy is going to be removed from what has not been a commonplace topic up to now, then the great public curiosity which in crisis situations is always shown toward figures on group, religious, or ethnic membership, should be turned toward investigating the differing ethnic representation in the party, less in order to find out in oversimplified terms who the League of Communists belongs to, and more in order to answer still more accurately, thanks to those data, the question: What is the League of Communists like, and what in it should be changed?

Variations From Republic to Republic

The analysis of the ethnic composition of the membership of the various republic and provincial organizations of the LC indicates at least some of the sources of the unevenness, but also possible directions for a long-term and systematic action to overcome them, Boris Vuskovic says.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina one might speak of three ethnic groups: Montenegrins and Serbs have a share in the membership of the LC greater than their share in the population; Muslims have almost the same share, while Yugoslavs and Croats have a considerably smaller share in the party than in the population.

The ethnic composition of the membership of the Montenegrin LC is least in line with the composition of the population. That is, only its most numerous group--the Montenegrins, have a higher share than in the population, while all the other ethnic groups have a considerably smaller proportion. This phenomenon does not occur in any other republic or provincial organization of the LC.

There are two essential features of the ethnic composition of the membership of the the Croatian LC: On the one hand Croats and Serbs, numerically the two largest groups, have considerably differing shares in the ethnic composition of the party (one out of every five Serbs and only one out of every 20 Croats is a member of the LC), while at the same time among those ethnic groups which have a numerically smaller share there is also a deep difference between, say, the proportion of Hungarians (one out of every 19 is in the party) and Montenegrins (one out of every three) or Yugoslavs (one out of every nine is a member of the LC).

Macedonians, who are the most numerous ethnic group in Macedonia, have a share in the ethnic composition of the membership of the Macedonian LC greater than their share in the composition of the adult population (one out of every seven Macedonians is a member of the LC), and along with them the only other groups with a higher share in the party than in the population are the Serbs (also one out of every seven is in the party). The adverse characteristic of the ethnic composition of the membership of the Macedonian LC is the fact that in numerical terms the second and third ethnic groups have a considerably smaller share in party membership than in the population: one out of every 18 Albanians and only one out of every 21 Turks is a member of the party.

The ethnic composition of the population of SR Slovenia is the most homogeneous in Yugoslavia. Slovenes constitute more than 90 percent of the population. The ethnic composition of the membership of the Slovenian LC has certain features similar to that in Croatia: Aside from Hungarians, the only other ethnic group with a smaller share in the party than in the population is the most numerous ethnic group, the Slovenes: one out of every 12 Slovenes is a member of the party. The others have a share considerably greater than in the population: one out of every four Serbs is in the party, one out of every five Yugoslavs, and one out of every seven or eight Croats.

The ethnic composition of the population of SR Serbia, and indeed the ethnic composition of the Serbian LC, are very complicated, especially in view of the provinces, and then each part has its own pronounced peculiarities. The Serbs, as by far the most numerous group, have a share in the party almost exactly the same as their proportion in the ethnic composition of the adult population or just slightly more. All the other ethnic groups, which together make up only one-fourth of the total adult population of SR Serbia, show a wide range of participation in the party; most highly represented are the Montenegrins, and then the Yugoslavs, while all the other groups have a smaller share than in the population. But the most important disproportion is the lower participation of those two ethnic groups which are the most numerous after the Serbs: the Albanians and especially the Hungarians.

The population of Serbia proper is with respect to its ethnic composition almost as homogeneous as that in Slovenia--Serbs make up about 90 percent of the population. Their share in the party is almost the same (just slightly lower) as in the population. Of the other groups, which are not numerous, the most important thing to mention is the underrepresentation of Albanians and the relatively high share of Montenegrins and Yugoslavs.

The fundamental feature of the ethnic composition of the membership of the Kosovo LC are the very important differences in the participation of the various ethnic groups: Montenegrins have almost threefold the share in the party that they have in the population; at the same time Albanians definitely have a lower share in the party membership than in the population, and the lag is still more considerable in the case of the Muslims and Turks. Nearly one out of every three Montenegrins is a member of the LC, one out of every six Serbs, one out of every nine Turks, one out of every nine Albanians, and one out of every 12 Muslims.

However diverse the ethnic composition of the population of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina, the share of the various ethnic groups in the composition of the party is just as diverse. But still we can roughly note two groups which have a higher or smaller share in the party than in the population. The Montenegrins, which incidentally are the smallest group, have a share in the party that is 2.5-fold greater than their share in the population, and this is also true of the Serbs, who have the highest share in the population. All the other ethnic groups have a share in the party that is lower than their proportion in the population: the Croats with a slightly lower representation and the Hungarians, Romanians, and Slovaks with a share in the party that is only about half the percentage that represents their share in the population.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

BILIC DISCUSSES ECONOMIC, PARTY PROBLEMS

LD241721 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1055 GMT 24 Dec 85

[Text] Belgrade, 24 December (TANJUG)--Autarchic uncoordinated, and enforced republican and provincial plans were the basic reason for the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and because the republican and provincial leagues of communists have been, and still are tied up with state structures in the republics and provinces, they have also been an expression of these interests; this has increasingly been the reason for the disintegration of the LCY as well. The federalist component is especially expressed through that. This means that if we wish to extricate ourselves from the crisis then we should begin by resolving these economic problems. This was stressed by Jure Bilic, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in his interview to the Titograd TRIBUNA which this weekly is bringing out in its latest issue.

In addition to this economic component, some other components of our relations also conditioned by history, which are now being revived with a negative aspect, are incorporated into the disintegration tendencies. I have the impression, said Bilic, that conflicts are occurring today, at least in some LCY structures, not to say that some opposition forces especially are playing it up, and that the LCY, including republican and provincial leaderships, have not resisted it enough. Conflicts occur between the present and the past on a number of issues--historic, political, economic, cultural, etc. And if conflict occurs between the present and the past then, as someone has said, the future is not certain either. If this is not stopped, stressed Jure Bilic, I doubt whether we shall be able to seriously tackle the solution of the problems and open up the prospects for socialism and self-management.

Because of these difficulties that we face many people outside the League of Communists and some members of the League of Communists ask whether this revolution should have been conducted at all. Of course, allegedly, socialism as a historical social formation has no prospects not only in Yugoslavia but on a world scale as well. And it is to this sort of antisocialism, that is, anticommunism, some leading people in the LCY have not offered enough resistance. They are responsible for the appearance of various books, articles and television programs of anticommunist content and communists in these environments who have allowed the publication of all this are particularly responsible.

I am not, Bilic stressed, against questioning the so called truths from the past, if it is a matter of clearing up matters in the sense of constructive criticism of the past and seeking better ways. But all this should be within the framework of socialism, self-managment, federal order. However, when they go further and demand changes in the character of socialism and of the federal order of Yugoslavia--and this is what some do not see--then it is a counterrevolution. The leadership of the League of Communists and of the LCY Central Committee will bear historical responsibility if they do not halt counterrevolution, Jure Bilic stressed.

All sorts of our revolutionary ideals have been realized, life has imposed different solutions on many things. The present leaderships are being blamed for the current state of affairs. Some would like to remove them from their present positions as quickly as possible, but here we clearly have to reevaluate what is subjective and who is responsible for what. I believe that all this should be put on the agenda, but that it would not be left to spontaneous efforts which might lead to the decapitation of this country.

I have suggested, for example, that we should publish how Obrovac [a former aluminum factory standing idle] was brought about and not to leave it to gossip to seek the culprits for various Obrovacs and thereby create a climate focusing on the question of who should not be elected in the forthcoming elections. Sometimes these things involve a settling of accounts and a struggle for power, which should be opposed. Therefore, I am in favor of publishing a chronicle of decision-making for all failed investments. Of course, even here we should know how to go.

Until the congress we must work as hard as possible and then at the congress we should see who is most capable of being in the leadership, said Jure Bilic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in the interview with the Titograd TRIBUNA.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG: LCY, SAWPY COMMITTEES DISCUSS MEDIA

LD102254 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 9 Dec 85

[Text] Belgrade, 9 December (TANJUG)--The majority of journalists and Communists on press editorial boards have made their full contribution to the implementation of the conclusions of the 6th LCY Central Committee Session [held on 14 March 1983--FBIS] which discussed public information media. Despite certain vacillations, the majority of the informative-political press has been implementing the established program orientations regarding fundamental socioeconomic and political issues. However, a number of negative tendencies seem to be persistently reappearing and have almost become a constant feature within the public information media sphere. Given the information media's important role and power, the LC cannot remain indifferent as regards such phenomena. This was stated at today's joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium's Commission for Information and Propaganda Activity and the SAWPY Federal Conference secretariat of the section for information and public opinion.

Some centers and individuals, Marko Lolic said in his introductory report, have persistently remained on the sidelines while some editorial boards have made disturbing editorial mistakes this year by: following the line of some articles aggressively opposed to LC policy. Not wanting to dispute the results achieved and the efforts by a majority of journalists, Lolic primarily focused his attention upon the negative tendencies since, as he put it, we are currently faced with serious mistakes here. According to him, not enough action and mobilizing guidelines exist as regards the press. A section of journalists (and, practically the entire editorial boards in some cases) have displayed an excessive degree of confusion and disorientation in dealing with complex social phenomena and relationships; there is quite a lot of despondency and apathy while some are being rather malicious and distrustful. They, Lolic continued, are attracted by the dark side of life, affairs and incidents along; it seems that they have lost all criteria of what editorial policy is and are adhering to the slogan: "The worse, the better."

Differing reactions to nationalist and other types of excessive behavior in "one's own" as opposed to those in other environments have also been observed. It is obvious that some tabloids' editorial boards have no serious intentions of dealing with serious political, historical, and cultural subject matters and are therefore making great mistakes and doing enormous damage. Naturally, objective difficulties and subjective shortcomings are an important weapon in

the hands of hostile forces which are playing a card of nationalism and of other retrograde positions. Attempts to demistify the past, characterized by the justified need to obtain fresh knowledge, are being or have already been transformed by some into an almost counterrevolutionary nationalist ecstasy and impudent aggression.

Of course, Lolic stressed, many shortcomings discernible in the press reflect a more profound crisis in society and the relations and lack of unity within the League of Communists. However, the public information media are having a reverse effect on all this and therefore we cannot expect others to carry out our tasks but most undertake a resultue action particularly in the section of the press where antisocialist orientation has taken deeper roots.

Analytical information on press coverage in the aftermath of the 6th LCY Central Committee session and following the 16th Plenary Session, in particular, was used as the basis for today's debate. The authors of this document proceeded from what appears to be a prevalant view that since good points are obvious, they should concentrate on negative examples. That is probably one of the reasons why today's assessment of the information media's activity was not much different from the one made three years ago when the conclusions were adopted.

Jak Koprivc, the first participant in the debate, stressed the need to analyze press, radio, and television activity within the framework of the LC's overall activity. Our activity is too often reduced to merely listing the cases of excessive behavior and our reaction to them. Vitomir Sudarski wanted to know why more attention was not paid to the obvious results achieved by journalists and editorial boards. It would also be useful if an analysis was made of the way in which and the extent to which the LC has been involved in the efforts to overcome negative tendencies.

According to Momcilo Baljak, in view of some negative phenomena in historiography, culture and publishing industry, editorial boards should muster creative and intellectual forces for their culture columns, in particular. Emin Dalih stated that newspapers are often accused of sins they have not committed. For instance, he rejected the view that the press was late in reacting to Djuretic's book. It is our historians who failed in this case. In Nedeljko Milanovic's view, when analyzing the information media's work, more emphasis should be placed upon their creative functon without which it will be impossible to win the battles ahead of us. The number of social spheres whose work is as exposed to the public's view as that of the information media is very small, Mladen Zuvela said. If only the situation were the same in other spheres. Dara Janekovic noted that many journalists and the younger ones, in particular, find it difficult to decide what their position is due to the fact that the LC is often late in taking necessary actions. For as long as the LC tolerates those who smear its reputation within its ranks, we will go around in circles conducting generalized discussions about some of the problems.

All of the participants in the debate stressed the need for a higher degree of socialization in this sphere; the need for increased attention to be paid to the cadre policy in journalism and for regulating journalists' social status

and their personal and social standards. Particular emphasis was placed on the importance of the activity by LC basic organizations in newspapers and publishing houses.

Bringing the debate to a conclusion, Dragoslav Markovic said that not only the press but our society, in general, had maintained an exclusively sharp critical attitude towards our reality for a long time, neglecting all that had been achieved and was being achieved today. We must, he said, be more objective when depicting the societal situation. This, however, does not imply that either shortcomings or mistakes should be hushed up. But, it is not true, Markovic stressed, that our entire past, or its major part, is simply a collection of wrong moves and mistakes.

Today's session also discussed the program of SAWPY's activities aimed at implementing the law on the bases of the information system. In his introductory report, Milan Rakas stressed the importance of coordinating the republican and provincial information media laws with the federal ones. The extent to which the joint uniform solutions regarding the bases of the information system are incorporated within the republican and provincial law, will dictate our success in implementing the first stage in the further development of an integral self-managing system throughout the entire Yugoslav territory. Rakas paid particular attention to the publishing houses' material position and said that there can be no socialization in the information media system without a lasting solution to this problem. Solutions should be sought for through lasting systemic measures such as tax exemption; abolishing customs duty which publishing houses must pay on imported necessary production components and material; reducing post office charges; and similar concessions. Inadequate solutions to newspapers' material problems have seriously jeopardized the realization of a special social interest within the information media system, Milan Rakas warned.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

NEW PARTY HISTORY SAID TO BE MORE CANDID

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Nov 85 pp 8-9

[Article by Zeljko Kruselj]

[Text] If historical events decisive to the development of the multinational community are not only refracted through a party, but it itself in fact shapes them to a considerable extent, then there is good reason to expect much of the way its history is presented. That is why it is understandable that much has been written about "Povijest Saveza Komunisti Jugoslavije" [History of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia], and there have even been polemics, quite some time before this large book which was long in preparation even made its appearance in public. Now that the first copies have finally come off the presses, the moment is altogether right to begin to talk with much better argumentation and more fully about its values as well as its limitations.

If in so doing one is to avoid the trap of one-sidedness in his approach, it would seem that he needs to distinguish the methodological approach to the problems of quite recent history from the views of its authors which are specific, but from the scholarly standpoint differently grounded, concerning certain issues in the stormy development of the CPY/LCY on which not enough light has been cast.

With respect to the first, the methodological, there is one fundamental remark to be made, one which is not, however, characteristic only of this ambitiously conceived book, but is the result of the state which the writing of history has been in Yugoslavia for quite some years. That is, it would be logical in studying the history of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to apply what historians called the "Marxist approach." Yet this means overstepping the narrow political approach to the problems of social development, and then it becomes evident that history is not created only by great individuals, but rather that they, with a significant personal imprint, are actually an expression of broader social developments and the interests of various classes, strata, and groups. The expert would in that context warn that one must strive for "dialectical unity in researching events, structures, and development." But if the results in studying specific events and to some extent social structures are evident from "Povijest Saveza Komunisti Jugoslavije," this certainly cannot be said of the overall mosaic of the development of the party and class of which it is the representative and political vanguard. Stated

concretely, there still has not been enough study about how the old Yugoslav society on the eve of the war, as a structure with a particular quality, after the revolution became a structure of a new and essentially different quality. To go further, present-day problems and dilemmas impose a need for the broadest reassessment of development, that is, a need to analyze the genesis of the structural changes both in the party and also in society at large which followed over the 40 years of postwar development. Such a history of the party would have to be much clearer than the book we are writing about in distinguishing the demands and imperatives of the time from the actual realization of the goals which were outlined.

That is the hardest thing to do. After all, as the researchers of party history say themselves, many social processes are still going on, and it is an extremely thankless business to draw premature conclusions. What is more, on achievement of self-management as the strategic objective of the League of Communists, on the worker's mastery of the income he creates, or again on the protracted process of the federalization of the party, to take some examples, a present-day historian could hardly offer any essentially more total assessment than some colleague of his who wrote about these matters in the fifties and sixties. The authors of "Povijest Saveza Komunističke Jugoslavije" have been largely aware of this, and they have striven as much as possible to link up facts in the intertwining of causes and consequences, declaring themselves in a more decided way only concerning events and figures which with time have been dropped from the first ranks of the party either because of objective circumstances or through their own personal fault.

Recognition of Errors

So, if in the treatment of the history of the party the book does not offer a methodological "revolution" we will dwell on the importance of its appearance on the agitated scene of the writing of history. At a time when there have been ever more evident attempts to reassess the fundamental values of the party and revolution with not altogether the best intentions, when figures and ideologies which have long been controversial are being pulled out of the lumber room of history, and when nationalistic passions are being deliberately enflamed, "Povijest Saveza Komunističke Jugoslavije" calmly puts things back in their place and is above all sound in its arguments.

It will be fully accepted in all quarters not because it plays up to anyone, but because it analyzes every problem from the perspective and possible alternatives of the times in which it occurred. The book contains no "cheap" allusions to present-day dilemmas, nor does it count on premises which have not gone through professional verification. And it is equally important that this party history does not pass over anything essential in silence, whether we are talking about the prewar factional struggles, the "leftist deviations," the Partisan negotiations with the Germans in 1943, Goli Otok, or indeed the "Dachau" trials. The reader can find in the book the names and numerical figures on those revolutionaries who were unjustly accused of betraying their homeland, and it is quite clear from the context that by admitting its mistakes the party lost nothing of its prestige. Nor dare one neglect the fact that for every period in the activity of the party, the rises and the falls,

the book offers a broader social framework and also the foreign political situation, while at the same time the statistics have been published on the fluctuation of the membership from the birth of the CPY up to the present day, along with changes in its social composition.

On this occasion we will briefly glance at certain of the more important events which are somewhat less known to the public or are still the subject of professional polemics.

The creation of the Yugoslav state is spoken about as the result of the efforts of the Yugoslav nationalities to "realize their historical national liberation aspirations and thus escape a subordinate position and dependence upon the other states in Europe, broaden opportunities for preserving and defending their national freedom and independence, and ensure more rapid socio-economic and cultural development." However, the inevitability of the future revolution is already evident from the specific realization according to the authors of the book. That is why they say that "the way in which the common state was created and the character of its internal system betrayed the expectations of the people. The 'First of December Act,' whereby it was proclaimed as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, did not correspond to the progressive and democratic aspirations of the Yugoslav nationalities, but was the result of an agreement of the Serbian bourgeoisie with the dynasty first of all and the bourgeoisie of the Yugoslav regions which were previously part of Austro-Hungary. In so doing, the Serbian bourgeoisie, relying on the forces which were victorious in the war and on its own army, guaranteed its own hegemony and imposed an antipopular, monarchistic, and centralistic system of government, negating the ethnic and social aspirations of the nationalities in the newly created state."

As for the creation of the national parties within the CPY, the book says that on the basis of a suggestion of the Comintern that the "ethnic factor" be given more consideration in the organizational structure of the party, at the Fourth National Conference a decision was made to create the Communist Parties of Croatia and Slovenia, and "in the nearest future of Macedonia as well." The substantiation of that decision stressed that this was in the interest of strengthening the struggle against nationalistic influences, in the interest of "making the party more attractive to the working masses of the oppressed nationalities," and of "facilitating the internationalistic indoctrination of the proletariat of the oppressed peoples." The judgment was that this would not weaken the political and organizational unity of the CPY, but would in fact even contribute to a strengthening of the revolutionary movement. Although it did express efforts for ethnic peculiarities to be expressed in organizational terms in the structure of the party, say the authors of the book, that decision still was not the fruit of any total conception of reconciling the class aspect and the ethnic aspect. Which accounts for inconsistency in the remark about the "ethnic factor," expressed in postponement of creation of the CP Macedonia to the "very near future," in rejection of the request to form a CP Serbia as well, and rejection of the proposal for taking up the question of creating the CP Montenegro, as well as in the decision to include parts of the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the region in which the CP Croatia was active.

The Conflict on the Literary Left

"Povijest Saveza Komunističke Jugoslavije" certainly devotes particular attention to Josip Broz Tito's coming to head the party, especially in view of the Stalinist "purges" in which, under the charge that they "were imperialist spies" and "Trotskyites," more than 100 Yugoslav revolutionaries who were living at that time in Moscow were arrested, shot, or disappeared without trace. In that kind of situation, where serious preparations were being made for dissolving the CPY, Tito did not hesitate. What is more, although he was left without financial aid, he preserved the unity of the party and prevented the problems that had arisen in the leadership from jeopardizing its political activity within the country. In close relation to that, he prevented the factional struggles, first of all the attempt of Labud Kusovac and Ivan Maric to form a parallel leadership center of the CPY in Paris, and that of Petko Miletić to return numerous communists in the Sremska Mitrovica prison to the "ultra-sectarian policy of the party."

Without supporting revolutionary activity, say the authors of the book, and having seen no way out of the increasingly critical situation on the eve of the war and after it broke out, certain groups of the leftwing intelligentsia were resigned, and some supported the bourgeois policy. All of these tendencies were evident in Krleža's "Pecat" [Stamp], which at the same time gave a new topicality to the earlier arguments on esthetic and philosophical questions, attacking most harshly many distinguished figures in the party, and that even took on direct political importance. Since this caused confusion even within its ranks, the Communist Party, which was fighting for influence with the public, had to spell out its views, which Tito did on two occasions in PROLETER.

In clarifying the genesis of the conflict with Stalin and the Cominform, the authors provide precise data on punishment and incarceration for "retraining" on Goli Otok and Grgur (at the same time unambiguously condemning the methods that were used!) of those who turned their backs on their party at that decisive moment. Thus it is cited that among the 16,312 persons punished there were "12 participants in the October Revolution, 36 who fought in Spain, 268 prewar members of the party, 1,673 holders of the '1941 Commemorative Partizan Medal,' 2,300 commissioned officers, noncommissioned officers, and military employees, 1,618 members of law enforcement agencies, 23 federal and republic ministers and 99 deputy ministers, and 36 federal deputies."

In connection with the deformations in judicial policy and achievement of legality at that time, they say that in later years some of the mistakes of the court that occurred under those conditions were corrected and those who had been convicted without basis were rehabilitated. That was in fact the case with the so-called Dachau trials which were held in April 1948, when 37 citizens, prewar communists, and people who had fought in Spain, people who also had been imprisoned in the Nazi camps Dachau and Buchenwald, were charged with having become collaborators of the Gestapo and then of being "postwar spies, wreckers, and saboteurs." The military court and later district court in Ljubljana convicted 31 persons. Eleven of those originally charged were sentenced to death and executed (another 3 persons lost their lives during the

inquiry), while 20 of them were sentenced to prison. It later turned out, however, that the charges were unfounded, and "all those convicted were subsequently (1971-1976) rehabilitated in the terms of the criminal law."

The Excesses of the Postwar Period

The occurrence of the critical discussions concerning the freedom of creativity is also analyzed in the context of throwing off the Stalinist legacy. The initial boundary of those discussions was marked by the Third Plenum of the CPY Central Committee and Edvard Kardelj's speech at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences in December 1949. The theory of reflection, Zhdanov's literary criteria, "Gerasimovism" in painting and "Timofeyevism" in the theory of literature, as well as the mechanistic conceptions carried over from translated works of Soviet theoretical economists were being criticized in those years. The formal line of divorce from the esthetics of "socialist realism" in the domain of culture was laid down by the Ljubljana Congress of Yugoslav Writers in 1952, at which Miroslav Krleža presented a paper on literature in which he emphasized its independent internal being which could not be evaluated with the criteria of the standards of the party administration, but only by the artist's personal experience of reality and the values of his artistic range.

Readers' attention will also be attracted by the way in which "Povijest Saveza Komunista Jugoslavije" has treated the present-day problems of the lull in economic and social development. It speaks of this as a consequence of the federalization of the party, they say: "The republics and provinces assumed the constitutional obligation with respect to responsibility for their own development, but they neglected their direct responsibility for the development of Yugoslavia as a whole. Slowly and with little success agreements were reached concerning the development of activities of importance to the country's overall development. The 'payments-balance positions' of the republics and provinces, established in 1977, came more and more to be their own payments balances, which were increasingly difficult to reconcile with Yugoslavia's unified balance of payments."

Let us say in conclusion that the book gives appropriate space to all the "excessive" occurrences in our postwar history. "Povijest Saveza Komunista Jugoslavije" deals with the "cases" of Hebrang and Zujovic, Djilas, Rankovic, the mass movement in Croatia in 1971, liberalism in Serbia in 1972, the counter-revolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo in 1968 and 1981, the student revolt in 1968.... However, the assessments of these events are not made according to any sources previously unknown, but have been taken from the previous historical works which have been written.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

CURRENT ANTI-TITO, ANTI-AVNOJ TOPICS SAID TO EXCEED LIMITS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Nov 85 p 10

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic: "Offensives Against the Truth"]

[Text] For any society that wants to be democratic, and especially socialist (since without democracy there is in fact no socialism), the motto "There are no taboo topics" ought to apply. That assertion has in fact been reiterated officially in our country for years, but still there have been many things prohibited, if not exactly by topic, then certainly by approaches. Sometimes indeed the fear of reassessing the past, which is the only possible source of lessons for the future, has been stronger even than the proclaimed historical goals. Thus the official policy, for example, came down unsparingly on the resolution of the Cominform and with full justification emphasized our resistance to Stalin as an example of the great historical battle which the Yugoslav Communists have fought not only for themselves, but also for the entire Communist and working class movement. But years and years had to pass before people began to speak openly about all the social and human dramas which took place in the background of the great conflict. Decades passed before the first films were made about that time and the first books and plays written, and the first historical writings published which had ferreted beneath that general picture.

Or the first book of any seriousness about the student developments in June 1968, which was published quite recently, although those who were born that year have today almost reached the age of maturity, and for them that is a distant past about which they may hear either exaggerations to the effect that this was the most revolutionary act since the war, or those others to the effect that it was nothing more than a hostile act pure and simple. And there have been many such examples, from Goli Otok, the Dachau trials, the time of forced collectivization and requisitioning, all the way to the most recent Kosovo events. Yugoslavia is now in a time of reassessment, to which our general social crisis has quite certainly also contributed, a crisis which some people still persistently and hardheadedly refer to as (only) an economic crisis. But there is nothing bad in that fact, this is done by other societies as well, especially socialist societies, as is clear to anyone who knows anything at all about conditions in the USSR, Hungary, China....

The thesis to the effect that nothing must be a taboo has become our reality, but there is also the other side of the coin. Just as the PRAXISites, by uncritically taking up Marx's motto of criticism of everything that exists, came into conflict at one time with the official policy with their assertions to the effect that our society had actually changed only the structure, but not the basic system and had still continued to be Stalinistic, today arguments like that are coming even from circles of an altogether different origin, and the basic motto of that "offensive against the truth" is this: everything should be called into question, everything is suspicious, everything should be reassessed.

They have begun on Tito. He has to be "demystified and the aureole of charisma removed from him." Of course, no one is infallible or without faults, there are no saints, and Tito was not one either. But does Tito deserve to have his major historical contribution and personality, which have won so much recognition even outside the boundaries of our country, reduced to gossip, to banalities, to stories taken out of context, to rigged versions and the like, all the way to the point where minor poets refer to him as the "old rat from Dedinje"?

Recently, in the general euphoria of the discussions of the political system, he was even imputed to have been a "great Croat" who deliberately broke up Serbia, since he allegedly felt that a weak Serbia guaranteed a strong Yugoslavia. And the stories one can hear to the effect that the 1974 Constitution was actually a triumph of Macek's vision of Yugoslavia are an outright plant which is supposed to show that there is some kind of Croatian nationalistic continuity and that Yugoslavia represents the triumph of the Croatian line. Immediately after Tito it was the turn of Kardelj and the thesis of de-Kardeljization of Yugoslavia. All "that search for the truth" has culminated in the demands for rehabilitation or at least reassessment of the Ustasha and Chetnik movements, which supposedly "the Communists pushed into an embrace with the Germans."

And now it is AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] whose turn has just come. One writer asserts that that kind of Yugoslavia (he did not say what kind, but it is easy to figure out) was not made only in 1974, but in 1973 at the AVNOJ session, and he adds: "I do not believe that all the members of the AVNOJ council were creators of our destiny. And I also know that their power shrank later."

AVNOJ, then, is to be reassessed, torn apart, and brought down, since it is to blame for "this kind of Yugoslavia," it contains the seeds of all of our disagreements and conflicts, since it is likely that the existence of the republics and provinces is to blame for disunity. They should be abolished, or at least their number (Seselj's formula) reduced to a realistic measure. And when the answer is made to those arguments that we are not in favor of just any Yugoslavia, then to some people that seems blasphemous in the same way that some others were scandalized by the assertion that it is not true that the worst socialism is better than even the best capitalism.

Changes are necessary, the entire socialist world is reassessing itself, reform has become a necessity and the word used most, but if some people think that this also presupposes a change of the fundamental principles on which Yugoslavia is built, among them AVNOJ, then there is no point talking. What will be left of us, what has remained, what are we, and where did we start from, why do some people have the idea that we got off the track?

In examining this situation of ours today there is good reason to start with certain real facts which history has confirmed. One of them is that underdeveloped societies are compelled to develop for quite a long time within the framework of state socialism (or state capitalism) and that we have not been an exception to that rule, but it is likewise a fact that self-management has been at the basis of every true socialist idea and this is that alternative which should be set in opposition to the discussions of more or less government, more or less centralism. This was in fact said at a recent meeting of the LCY Central Committee, since, incidentally, you have to be able and willing to read the 1974 Constitution to the end and completely. It would be naive and politically blind to ignore the ethnic component of the Yugoslav Federation. Let us take a quote from Dr Predrag Vranicki: "In view of the problems of socioeconomic relations, the changing and predominance of the present-day class, bourgeois society of economic and political alienation, in view of the achievement of a new community based on humanism and solidarity in which nationalities, races, or religions will be utterly secondary characteristics--the processes of self-management in all spheres of the life of society are a real and permanent revolution in our time."

Do we have the strength to build that kind of vision, that kind of concept, or will we sink into the mud of discussions of all the things that someone has lost and is losing in the new Yugoslavia, and how it is falling apart, and all are losing. It would be better instead for us all to ask ourselves: Can Yugoslavia become a community of labor, which is incidentally what was written in the first article of the Constitution which many people quote only up to the first comma?

7045

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21 January 1986

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

VOJVODINA HISTORIANS VIEW HISTORICALLY INACCURATE WRITINGS

LD222354 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatan 1217 GMT 20 Dec 85

[Text] Novi Sad, 20 December (TANJUG)--Books which deserve the public's attention have appeared recently in Vojvodina and in Yugoslavia: a great number of anthologies with historical content, books of historiography, and memoirs. On the other hand, books which openly undermine the foundations of the national liberation war and the revolution, poison social relations, and inflict inestimable damage, also have been published it was noted at today's extended session of the Association of Vojvodina Historians presidium. This was one of the first such discussions on the Marxist interpretation of the national liberation war and socialist revolution preceding the 13th LCY Congress.

Bogdan Tankosic, Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium member, called attention to what has taken place in the area of distorting history within the past five years. The Chetnik movement is antifascist; Nedic was "saving" the Serbian people, "accepting Slovenes"; Horti's fascists "liberated" Backa and corrected a historical injustice; the Balists were a "volunteer" army; the Ustashas did not kill "so many" people in Jasenovac; the Genocide was in the name of establishing "order and peace." On the other hand, revolutionaries are common "thiefs," without character; the CPY was a mere appendage of the Communist International; Cominform supporters were the victims of intrigues; buying up and nationalization are "unpardonable" communist errors... And even more absurd is that all this is published under the auspices of high scientific institutions, editorial councils, and with working class money, while the proofreaders often are recognized scientists, and publishers are well-known houses, Tankosic said.

What does such writing wish to achieve? Primary to question, raise doubts, so that the condemned will become judges and (?the accused will become accusers) [words indistinct], forces defeated on the open historical stage. That is how they will get the aura of martyrs and victims of intrigues. They also have been condemned by the judgement of people and history [words indistinct].

Lazar Zrnic, Association of Vojvodina Historians president, said that by way of various writings, interviews, and books which aspire to be "scientific," attempts have been made to devalue the revolution, the CPY, and Tito's work, and simultaneously to rehabilitate counterrevolutionary and collaborationist forces. Attacks also are made on the 1974 Constitution, the Law on Associated

Labor, and calls are heard for a return to outmoded social relations which we have left behind us long ago.

It was stressed at the meeting that it is our practice in historical science that it should uncompromisingly fight for the truth. Only the best results and the broadest range of our historiography can serve as a stimulus for the further development of scientific research work in the sphere of history, for scientific awareness and the affirmation of the true and permanent values of our nations and nationalities' common past, those traditions which can carry through into our times [word indistinct] and humanistic messages.

It was noted that the teaching program and plan for history were equally sensitive areas at all levels of education and learning. Yugoslav historians have since their Seventh Congress in Novi Sad up until the present, warned the public at large on several occasions that the teaching of history is on the wrong track.

The present pregress discussions are an occasion for activating all social forces to bring about a change in the situation so that the teaching of history in Yugoslav schools regains its true place.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

THREE CHARGED WITH HOSTILE ACTIVITY IN OGULIN

LD110036 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1817 GMT 10 Dec 85

[Text] Rijeka 10 December (TANJUG)--The trial began today before the grand council of the district court in Rijeka, presided over by Katarina Negovetic, of three men from Ogulin charged with hostile activity. Josip Ceranic-Matek (20), Tomislav Markovic-Makso (22) and father of the first accused, Josip Ceranic (54) are accused of hostile acts against the foundations of the socialist self-managing social system and the security of the SFRY, spreading hostile propaganda, and inciting national and religious hatred and intolerance.

Ceranic junior and Markovic are charged with "transforming" a monument to the victims of the fascist terror in Klecka Draga near Ogulin during the period from 28 July to 12 November 1983 into a monument to the Ustashas who were killed during the national Liberation War or who were shot at the end of the war. Alongside the pit into which the Ustashas threw 250 people, mainly Serbs, during the first half of 1941, the two of them smashed the memorial stone with an inscription and five-pointed star and threw the pieces of the stone into the pit. Instead of the five-pointed star they painted a cross in black paint and inscribed the year 1945 as a memorial to the dead Ustashas. The indictment also charges Josip Ceranic-Matek with sticking a tricolor with the Ustasha emblem onto the glass door of a cupboard in his room last year, and of drawing six Ustasha initial U's around the border of his sports diploma. This year, in addition, he insulted his Serbian neighbor because of his national affiliation.

His father Josip Ceranic is to answer charges of hostile propaganda during the period when he was on Goli Otok [an island prison in the Adriatic] serving a sentence for murder. He made contact with a member of the hostile organization known as the Croatian Liberation Movement [Hrvatski Oslobodilacki Pokret] and after his release contacted the hostile emigre group through his brother Drago and his best man Mijo Vukovic, members of the organization in Australia, from whom he received hostile propaganda material.

The indictment further charges him with making statements in Ogulin between 1 June 1983 and 30 June 1985 to the effect that contacts should be made with sympathizers abroad and that people should be persuaded to destroy monuments, and blow up buildings of the committees, courts, and other institutions.

Josip Ceranic also distributed leaflets with hostile contents to others to read and talked of an ethnically pure Croatia, etc.

The three accused have not admitted the acts. The trial continues.

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CSO: 2800/103

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

PRISTINA LC PRESIDIUUM VIEWS SITUATION IN KOSOVO

AU132001 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 12 Dec 85

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the Pristina LC Communal Committee considered yesterday evening the present ideopolitical situation in Kosovo Polje. Progressive forces are making exceptional efforts to solve existing problems. The Presidium was informed of the great variety of activities conducted in this local community, from political and security problems to communal issues. The Presidium judged that, although there are areas with worse problems, nonetheless, considering the importance of Kosovo Polje, where the larger part of the population is centered upon the industry of the commune, there is a need to intensify the work of sociopolitical and other organs to solve present problems.

The Presidium considered the petition from some citizens which was sent some time ago to a number of organs and institutins and individuals in the Federation, in the SR of Serbia, and particularly to various public media. The entire text of this petition was published by TV NOVOSTI in its last issue. It was the joint opinion of the Presidium that, according to the content of this text and the demands it presents, the petition represents a harmful political platform, hostile in content, and aimed against the policies of the LC of Yugoslavia, the fruits of the revolution, and the foundations of our system of socialist self-management.

The above-mentioned text mentions real political problems confronting our commune, province, and whole society, but in essence aims to offer a reactionary political platform, recalling days gone by. The Presidium considered such a petition as part of participating in a destructive and hostile activity against our socialist self-management system which has manifested itself in legal, semi-legal, and illegal ways in other parts of Yugoslavia in different books and pamphlets, etc. According to the observations of the Presidium and other competent organs, the petition is the work of a group of destructive elements which have constantly and over a long period expressed intolerance of and dissent from the policy of the LC of Yugoslavia and our socialist self-management system. [words indistinct]

As far as the signatories of the petition are concerned, the information available to the Presidium suggests that it was the work of a group of suspected manipulators, that it is evident that dozens of names have been signed in the same handwriting, and that the chief authors met people casually

in cafes and other places, explaining in a [word indistinct] that the matter concerned a letter demanding Nergetic action to prevent the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, as well as stricter measures against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, and so forth.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

BELGRADE PROFESSOR DISCUSSES STUDY ON KOSOVO SEPARATISM

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 85 pp 39-43

[Interview with Dr Ilija Vukovic, full professor at Belgrade University, by Dragan Barjaktarevic: "The Eagles and the Little Chicks of Irredentism"; date and place not given]

[Text] The study "Autonomastvo i separatizam na Kosovu" [Autonomism and Separatism in Kosovo] (Nova Knjiga Publishing House, Belgrade, 1985) by Dr Ilija Vukovic, full professor at Belgrade University, is one of those rare books which tear apart the tough flesh of political taboo topics and untouchable figures. In the opinion of Dr Mirko Perovic, Vukovic's book is a "very important, perhaps even the most important contribution so far made to investigation of the truth about the origin, roots, causes, and forms of the counter-revolution in Kosovo" (cultural supplement of POLITIKA, 2 November 1985). Over an interval of less than a year this is the second study by Dr Vukovic which deals with the current ideological and political situation and the problems of Kosovo. In the first book, "Stranputice Hajredina Hodze" [The Meanderings of Hajredin Hodza], which aroused a strong response in the Yugoslav public and led to numerous debates, Dr Vukovic was concerned with demystifying the retrograde ideology which one of the distinguished Kosovo figures in scholarship and politics--Hajredin Hodza, member of the academy--launched in our public in his book "Afirmacija albanske nacionalnosti u Jugoslaviji--Staljinisticki nacionalizam i irredentizam u Albaniji" [Affirmation of the Albanian Nationality in Yugoslavia--Stalinist Nationalism and Irredentism in Albania] (Rilindja Publishing House, Pristina, 1984). "Stranputice..." is a polemical study, a living example of the well-known slogan "A book in response to a book," a kind of "clinic in political anatomy," in which, as the author puts it, arguments of force are denied by the force of arguments.

[Question] We asked Professor Vukovic what led him after "Stranputice..." to also write "Autonomastvo i separatizam na Kosovu" since the two books are actually concerned with the same topic?

[Answer] The second book represents an additional effort to research the very complex and stratified ideological and political conglomerate within which the fascistoid ideology and practice of the Irredenta and counterrevolution in Kosovo became crystallized. Thanks to conditions and circumstances which obtained in Kosovo, that conglomerate tended toward the same or similar social

goals, mainly counterrevolution and anti-Yugoslavism. That was also the reason why that book, by contrast with the first one, took a close look at the phenomenon of autonomism and separatism and the whole arsenal of its means and effects aimed above all at "Kosovo a Republic," on a broad base of documentation and an analysis of the content of its character in terms of history, sociology and political science, and law and politics. It is a great pity that the "Kosovo syndrome" has not been systematically researched in Serbia and Yugoslavia. I have become convinced that the phenomena of separatism, nationalism, and the Irredenta, just like other manifestations of a counterrevolutionary nature, cannot be left to reactions in the realm of day-to-day politics. Especially not to those day-to-day reactions which are burdened with various controversies, so that as a whole they do not have a revolutionary scope and range.

[Question] Your second book also takes as its "target" the science and ideology of Hajredin Hodza, member of the academy. Why? Do you really think that Dr Hodza is a representative of the "Kosovo syndrome"?

[Answer] Precisely so. I think that H. Hodza's "scientific" and political commitment (especially since 1968) is a representative example and occasion for investigation of the phenomenon of autonomism and separatism in Kosovo. I do not think this solely because of his continuous and very pronounced expression in favor of autonomous separatism, but also because all of his public statements are presented as speeches on behalf of the "progressive forces of Kosovo" and the "Communist Albanians," and no one sets himself apart from those statements. On the contrary.... That is why in this study he figures as the main protagonist only in figurative terms. But actually, Hajredin Hodza, as I hope I have shown with the documents in the book, is only a spokesman of the principal ideologues and strategists of autonomism and separatism in Kosovo, which is the course of the process that has been planned and guided beginning with Bujane and right up to the present day....

There are no difficulties in demystifying the falsehoods and manipulations in the "scholarly" works of Hajredin Hodza. His constant war with the truth concerning Kosovo and Yugoslavia is evident and very obvious to readers who are at all informed. The book "Stranputice Hajredina Hodze" is in fact turned toward that side of the coin of the "scholarship" of that member of the academy and self-styled "theoretician of the nationality question," of indeed world level, as he says of himself. I had to say that, because unfortunately even falsehood, if it is not contested, becomes in time even a "reliable" scientific source for many people. In the other book, then, I was more deeply and broadly concerned with the other side of the medal of the "scholarship and ideology" of Hajredin Hodza, whose content and orientation has separatistic-nationalistic connotations, since they are not only an indicator, but also an expression of the state of consciousness and level of a portion of the people in science and politics of present-day Kosovo.

[Question] You refuse, then, any possible objection as to a personal conflict between two scholars?

[Answer] Absolutely. If it were not a question of what I have said it is and if it did not involve reasons of a difference of views concerning the fundamental political-ideological content of our revolution, then there would be no reason to write even a word about the "scholarship" and stupidities of H. Hodza....

[Question] How can there be "stupidities" when we are talking about a member of the academy?!

[Answer] Nowhere in the world is there a smaller country that has so many members of the academy! The overproduction of members of the academy in our country has taken such a paradoxical course that it would be no great wonder if academies of sciences should spring up even in our local communities. It should be said in public once and for all that we have done everything to devalue and ruin what is an honorific scientific title everywhere in the world and so that people simply laugh at many of the members who belong to academies whose establishment was expressly political.

However, it is not scholarly titles and the biography of H. Hodza which are the subject of my attention, but those theoretical and political views and practice which go beyond a dispute between two writers. It is a question of the content and of protagonists of broader social importance and interest. Nevertheless, not perhaps the public, but some of the people in science and politics in Kosovo, and indeed outside, may still offer support to the scientisms of Hajredin Hodza and his ilk. All of this is continuing to feed the Irredenta and nationalism in the Albanian nationality and thereby Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism as well.

[Question] You have mentioned spokesmen on the one hand and principal ideologues and strategists of autonomism and separatism in Kosovo on the other. Who are these "main figures"?

[Answer] Both of my studies, the second especially, were motivated by a desire to have the principal figures of separatism and indoctrination with nationalism in Kosovo finally show themselves. My research shows unambiguously that the principal manipulators of ethnic sentiment and the strategists of the counterrevolutionary demands for "Kosovo a Republic" were ensconced above all in the legal institutions of our sociopolitical system.

We have suffered a great deal of damage from being lulled to sleep with illusions that certain "personnel" (politicians and scientists) from the ranks of the Albanian nationality are irreplaceable and indeed even the only ones responsible for the "connection" with the Albanian masses. The counterrevolutionary events in 1968 and 1981 did not bring us to our senses or teach us that these are illusions whose tribute is being paid by the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Kosovo and of this country. An especially high price is being paid by a portion of Albanian youth poisoned with nationalism and irredentism, while certain of the principal figures in indoctrination with that pernicious ideology are still lounging comfortably in cushy positions in numerous social institutions, from which they defend their monopolies and privileges by manipulating the interests of the working class and their own nationality without interruption.

[Question] Do you feel that the main core of the Irredenta has not been broken up?

[Answer] One could even say that it is still bursting with health! However, the times have long been urgently calling for demystification and destruction of the bunkers of the national bureaucracy so that the Albanian nationality itself can see very clearly who is poisoning its healthy existence. In Kosovo there has been an evident phenomenon of self-reproduction of the ethnic bureaucracy, the basis of which has been ethnobureaucratic nepotism. Which is why it is no wonder that quite a few relatives, friends, blood brothers, sons and daughters, and indeed even spouses have come to take up responsible positions--from the opstina to the Federation, even when their biographies were not above suspicion.

[Question] In the book you mention both names and family trees, for example, the "political line of kinship in Djakovica...."

[Answer] Yes, but I propose that we not deal with names here, since in the limited space of a newspaper one cannot present all the evidence of the political and ideological manipulation by individuals and families. There simply is enough evidence to fill quite a thick book on that subject, not just two or three pages in a newspaper. But it should be said publicly that nepotism among political personnel in Kosovo is unprecedented in our recent history, and it is difficult to find examples of that kind even when one looks at the whole world. It seems that a set of criteria of this kind concerning personnel (relatives and friends) was used in Kosovo as a guarantee of more successful manipulation of "nationality" policy in order to obtain monopolies and privileges for a powerful grouping of relatives and people from the same place and it was they, unfortunately, who brought about everything that happened in Kosovo through their mistaken policy. That kind of personnel policy did quite a bit to keep out of the responsible positions occupied by the Albanian nationality many able people who were not ideologically burdened with various mortgages and who were devoted to the cause of Yugoslav self-management socialism and had borne witness to that in practice.

[Question] Is the differentiation of personnel, which has been carried out in this area since 1981, finished?

[Answer] No. The differentiation has caught the little chicks, but the eagles have remained.

[Question] Although we believe and say that no one in this country is indispensable, that no one is exempted from criticism and reassessment ("speak the truth even when you are alone"), in reality those who do not "refrain" from talking about those who are regarded as prestigious have a hard time of it.

[Answer] That is quite true, but I pay no importance to that. If a man always wears kid gloves in what he says, he will forget that he has hands. And a man dare not forget his hands.

It is unfortunate that reality is the way it is. Often even the best substantiated and consistently argued criticism of specific deeds/misdeeds of prestigious figures in science and politics--that was in fact the case with my first criticism of Hajredin Hodza's book--are described even as an attack on "revolutionaries," on the "Albanian nationality," and on "stabilization of the situation in Kosovo," and the like. People go even further, and they speak irresponsibly about an attack on "Marxism-Leninism," Tito and our other revolutionaries, on AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], the constitution, socialism, all the way to the movement of the non-aligned. It is clear that we are dealing here with a worn-out, but dangerous cloak used to defend the protagonists of the retrograde ideology and practice which in fact led to the counterrevolution in Kosovo. We are dealing with the well-known cliches of Stalinism which equates individuals and politically influential groups with the institutions of the social order. The attack on their bureaucratic habitats and bunkers is not as a rule represented in public as an attack on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, self-management socialism, the revolution and its personnel. My books were a kind of contribution to resistance to that phenomenon and to the lack of civility in political speech and dialogue and public speech and dialogue in general.

[Question] Do you mean to say that by criticizing certain representatives of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo you did not call that nationality itself into question as well?

[Answer] That is presumably self-evident. No ethnobureaucracy is a saviour of its nationality. Sooner or later it causes that nationality to put on mourning. When in a socialist context someone subordinates the class interest to the ethnic interest, he turns the nationality into an invalid of civilization instead of opening up the eyes of the nationality, he binds them shut, instead of a view of the future, he offers the past. A well-intentioned reader of my studies will easily see that in them I am defending precisely the integrity of the Albanian nationality and its honorable personnel from those who have betrayed both its trust and in general the trust of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. That is also the line pursued by the criticism of the nationalistic-separatistic deceptions in the "scholarship" of Hajredin Hodza, member of the academy, and people like him. The monopolies over public speech in Kosovo make it difficult for the Albanian public to learn the truth about the "scholarship" of its self-styled representatives.

[Question] What kind of monopoly are you referring to?

[Answer] The ethnobureaucracy and all the rest is practically unthinkable without a monopoly over the press. "Its" press glorifies its ideas and does not allow criticism of those ideas. For example, Rilindja was required as the publisher of Hajredin Hodza's book to inform its readers about what it thought about that book. It did not do that, which is to say that it is a closed news medium, which is a contradiction in terms.

[Question] In the study you deal in detail with an analysis of counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo on 27 November 1968, which you say were a "dress rehearsal" for 1981. What were the causes of the failure of irredentism in 1968?

[Answer] Some people are inclined even today to altogether minimize the irredentism in 1968. H. Hodza, for example, with his prestige in politics and scholarship, does not mention those events anywhere. This is why. I will present this briefly and in simplified form (I deal with this in detail in the book), since I believe that the reader is able to put two and two together and to distinguish between an old lady and a frog. In 1968 there were discussions in Kosovo about the constitutional amendments. That was the beginning of Hajredin's theoretical-political commitment to reviving the demands for "Kosovo a Republic." He was the head of the "Group for Ethnic Relations and Equality of Languages of the Commission for Preparing Proposals for Amendments and Supplements to the Charter of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija," whose chairman, incidentally, was Fadilj Hodza. According to Hajredin, the Albanians are not an ethnic minority, but a nationality, and accordingly have the right to self-determination, which is to say the right to a republic and to separation from the SFRY. Hajredin Hodza and those like him were delivering sermons of this type all over Kosovo, tirelessly and practically every day, and then on 24 November 1968 [original reads "'86'"], in a meeting of the Group for Ethnic Relations... of which he was the head, H. Hodza expressed "Kosovo republicanism" most openly, clearly and precisely. Three days after that altogether identical demands saw the light of day in the streets of Pristina and other cities of Kosmet in the counterrevolutionary demonstrations. I say and I have proven that the ideological and political yeast for those demonstrations were above all the "theories" of Hajredin Hodza and other influential and prestigious figures in "politics" and "scholarship." That orientation was also sponsored (for the sake of positions and careers, by a portion of the "personnel" from the ranks of the Serbs and Montenegrins, who remained until 1981, and some have remained even today, not to mention that they "have been rewarded" with responsible political positions in Kosovo and outside. They did not bother their heads much about the fate of the people and the community they belonged to.

[Question] Did Hajredin Hodza suffer any consequences at all because of that kind of involvement in 1968?

[Answer] The question of H. Hodza's responsibility was raised because of behavior of this kind in the constitutional discussions. However, Fadilj Hodza, who was then president of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, vigorously opposed the demands to call H. Hodza to account.

In any case, intentionally or accidentally--I will not go into that here--the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in November 1968 were altogether played down. For example, a month after the demonstrations the "Commemorative Session of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Second Session of AVNOJ and the 25th Anniversary of the First Conference of the District National Liberation Committee for Kosovo and Metohija (Bujan!) and of the Establishment of the Antifascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Serbia" was held. The principal address was presented by Comrade Fadilj Hodza, who spoke among other things about the question of constitutional changes and about the demonstrations. "The discussions concerning the constitutional amendments have been followed with great interest," Comrade Fadilj said, making no comment

whatsoever about those discussions, and we know in what direction they were conducted. Nor does the address contain any information or ideological-political characterization of the slogans "Kosovo a Republic," "Unification," and so on, which the demonstrators shouted and which were written on the banners they carried.

[Question] You write that it was the assessment of autonomistic separatism in late 1967 and early 1968 that the conditions existed in the SFRY for in fact setting up "Kosovo a Republic" in constitutional law. Yet that plan fell through, and, as you say, they took up other tactics. The lion, then, changed his skin, but remained a lion nevertheless?

[Answer] Exactly so. They no longer posed the maximalist demands that Kosovo be set up as a republic in constitutional law. The insistence on public recognition of the right to self-determination of the Albanian minority was also "measured." That was followed by a new tactic: the ethnobureaucratic forces in Kosovo tried in the constitutional amendments to get as much as possible with respect to "Kosovo a Republic." Their first task was to obtain legal and political solutions whereby SAP Kosovo would have the same basic rights as a republic although in terms of formal law it would not be so established. The second task of autonomistic separatism undertook action in order to win recognition in the constitution that SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo "was born in the National Liberation War and socialist revolution" and that "by the free will of its population" (which is a substitution for the phrase "right to self-determination" which was rejected for the time) and joined Serbia and Yugoslavia only after the National Liberation Struggle!

[Question] Step by step there thus came about the complete albanianization of Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Ethnically pure Kosovo is ceasing to be a slogan, that is today mainly reality. In the book I in fact make the observation that the demands for "homogenization" of the Albanian nationality, justification of the immensely high birth rate among Albanians, application of the "principle of proportional representation of the population" in all domains of the life of society, majority vote and monopoly over personnel policy, and making it possible for Serbs and Montenegrins to be persecuted pursue the purpose of albanianization of Kosovo. Isn't it true that the printing of party cards in Kosovo in the Albanian language alone, the changing of the name Metohija to Dukadjin (which even today one hears on TV Pristina), displaying the Albanian national flag in Kosovo, and the previous separate cooperation with Albania, and so on, and so on--are these not eloquent pieces of evidence that the process of albanianization of SAP Kosovo was legalized even in the institutions of the political system of SAP Kosovo? Only little kiddies would believe that all this was done by some phantom and underground Irredenta hidden away in the nooks and crannies of the province or by the "enemy outside."

[Question] Let us go back to 1968. You say that the organizers "did not lose even a hair from their heads."

[Answer] I have examined some of the analyses by responsible government agencies, which indicate that in 1968 the demonstrators aroused the greatest anger by insulting the figure of Josip Broz. The masses were informed from an "official" place that "Tito is against Kosovo becoming a republic, and we, as you know, have been seeking that persistently." In those analyses, to which the requisite attention has not, however, been paid, over 40 first and last names of prestigious figures in scholarship and politics are referred to, people who stood out in demanding "Kosovo a Republic." Not only did everyone "keep every hair on his head," but those same people remained in positions of responsibility, and many received still more important public office and social positions, which they hold even today.

[Question] You and several other authors (Dr Spasoje Djakovic, Petar Brajovic, and others) were the first to remove the veil from the mystifications and manipulations related to the "famous" conference in Bujane, at which it was decided to grant "right to self-determination all the way to separation," that is, the "way for Skipetars from Kosovo and Metohija" to "join Albania," that is, for Kosovo to secede from Yugoslavia, to "all nationalities of Kosovo and Metohija." Your treatment of this topic has been evaluated as an "attack on the revolutionary personnel of Kosovo." What is involved here?

[Answer] I "made so bold" as to concern myself with the mystifications about Bujane, and since that was a taboo topic in the analysis of the problems of Kosovo, I was attacked with every "weapon and instrument"! That resolution in Bujane, incidentally, is constantly being pulled out as the crowning "argument" of the Irredenta from Albania, in our own country and in the world at large, to prove that the SFRY "does not honor Bujans." Last year the emigre organization "Albanian Youth From Kosovo in the Free World" in New York submitted a petition in which it called upon the UN "to fully respect" the decisions made in Bujane. All irredentist organizations within the country and in the world use Bujans as an alibi, and that is exactly what Enver Hodza did in "Titoisti" [The Titoists]. At the same time the anniversary of Bujane has been officially celebrated in Kosovo, those meetings have been turned into rallies by Fadilj Hodza, Ilija Djukic, and others. What did I do? Literally, all I did was to present the text of the Bujane Resolution and other historical facts related to that conference. Those documents need no comment when one knows that they were adopted after the Second Session of AVNOJ, that they are, then, directly anti-AVNOJ, which is to say, anti-Yugoslav. Fadilj Hodza and Pavle Jovicevic were the most responsible among the delegates from Yugoslavia. This observation by no means constitutes an attack on the unquestionably great merit of those revolutionaries in the National Liberation Struggle and thereafter or their overall activity. But I only put the question out loud: Can it be that even "national heroes" and "meritorious fighters" for socialism have never erred at some time? Or should we establish a new strain of infallible and faultless superman-revolutionaries?

[Question] You say that a portion of "scholarship" and "politics" in Kosovo as a whole share the opinion of Enver Hodza (expressed in "Titoisti") concerning the significance and role of the conference in Bujane?

[Answer] Yes, they are on completely the same line as Enver Hodza, and that outspoken comparison in Yugoslavia certainly bothers them. That is, Enver Hodza insists that Bujane was an event of "historic importance," that "legitimate representatives" of Kosovo were gathered at it, and the most important thing is that they recognized the right to self-determination all the way to secession of the "Albanian nationality" from Yugoslavia, etc. A portion of the "scholarship" and "politics" in Kosovo has been constantly insisting on these same "arguments." That is, there is an obvious spiritual tie-up between Enver Hodza and the Kosovo "hodzas" with respect to Bujane.

[Question] The commitments from Bujane have in a way been incorporated today into the Constitution of SAP Kosovo, although the legitimate power has rejected the parts of the resolution from that conference which were quoted. How was it possible for it to be "smuggled" into the text of the constitution?

[Answer] The separatistic political platform whose foundations were laid in Bujane was also manifested in the Constitution of SAP Kosovo. This is expressed in terms of the explicit designations that "the Kosovo people did not participate in creation of the SFRY," but "in the National Liberation Struggle and revolution created SAP Kosovo," and that at the Second Conference of the National Liberation Committee of Kosovo and Metohija in Prizren they adopted a decision that SAP Kosovo would join Democratic Federal Yugoslavia. Although the conference in Prizren, as it is now said, corrected the mistake of Bujane and de facto was the first conference of legitimate representatives of Kosmet, at which the first legitimate National Liberation Committee was elected for Kosmet, it is not celebrated as an anniversary, but rather the anniversary is the illegitimate meeting in Bujane. Separatism also becomes evident in the Constitution of SAP Kosovo in Article 301, where the jurisdictions of the Assembly of SAP Kosovo and the Assembly of the SFRY are deliberately "confused"! Not even the Serbian Assembly has the rights of the Kosovo Assembly! In the Constitution of SAP Kosovo there is not a word about brotherhood and unity, which is otherwise an essential principle in the constitutions of all the republics and SAP Vojvodina! I can only express amazement that the constitutional courts in this country did not notice these "tiny details" in the Constitution of SAP Kosovo, that only now is the constitutionality of the Kosovo "principle of proportional representation in personnel matters" being called into question, and so on.

[Question] You say in your criticism of the writings of Hajredin Hodza and those who think like him that they always talk about Kosovo outside the context of SR Serbia. What does that mean?

[Answer] Academician Hodza barely mentions SR Serbia in his "famous" book, and then in passing. He is completely turned toward a one-sided affirmation of the autonomy of the socialist autonomous province and the Albanian nationality of Kosovo within the Federation. He is not at all interested in the other nationalities and ethnic minorities in the province, much less is he concerned about the Serbs and Montenegrins being driven out of Kosovo. Is it possible to consider the position of the Albanians in an ordinary piece of writing (at the high school level!) without saying even a word about the ethnic minorities and nationalities to whom the Albanians are tied not only by

the historical past, but also by the present and (if things were as they should be) the future! For such a piece of writing as that, high school teachers give their students a low grade and say "You missed the point!" But H. Hodza is not a schoolboy, but a member of the academy, a university professor, a member of high-level party committees. So, there is another possibility: Perhaps the forcible exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins has become a fait accompli, so that the equality of nationalities and ethnic minorities can be spoken of only in terms of the relationship of one nation-state to another!

[Question] You wonder whether today, after 4 decades, the "nationality question" and the "affirmation" of any ethnic minority or nationality of the SFRY can become relevant and political? Why?

[Answer] I feel that this is not an urgent and relevant problem, at least not of the present stage of development of our revolution. For a long time it has been true that the "nationality question" and the affirmation of nationalities and ethnic minorities could not be made an issue not only in the way that the bourgeoisie and the classic class enemy saw them, since that meant fratricide, ethnic revanchism, and genocide. There is also an inadequacy in the well-known Comintern way of seeing things, which is expressed in present-day bureaucratic nationalism and separatism on the part of antisocialist forces and all forces opposed to self-management, which is only the other side of one and the same nationalistic, antiworker, and counterrevolutionary coin. Today the issue is being urgently raised of strengthening and securing the hegemony, (leading) role and power of the working class and the working people everywhere in Yugoslav society as the pivotal condition for the more complete equality and brotherhood and unity of this country's nationalities and ethnic minorities. It is worthwhile to remind the working class and ethnobureaucracy of Yugoslavia once again of the good old Manifesto, which it seems that we have forgotten in the frantic bureaucratic race:

"Insofar as the exploitation of one individual by another is abolished, the exploitation of one nation by another is abolished.... When the antagonism of classes disappears within the nationality, the hostile attitude toward nationalities also disappears."

7045

CSO: 2800/80

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENIAN SOCIOLOGIST RUS DISCUSSES ABUSE OF NATIONALISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 85 pp 24-26

[Interview with Dr Veljko Rus, Ljubljana Sociology Institute, by Bozana Rublek: "Slovenia--Our Homeland"; date and place not given]

[Text] Nationalistic outbursts have followed one upon the other this fall in almost all regions of Yugoslavia and have taken the most widely differing forms, often altogether new ones. In addition to the excesses which have taken place in and around stadiums, which have already become part of the "folklore," we have also been witnesses of certain tragic showdowns which have come about, such as the one at Idrija, where young people from that town in Slovenia came into conflict with workers from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia. What is causing problems of that kind, what led up to the conflict which right there in Idrija showed all its drastic gravity in alarming fashion?

Exactly what is going on? What sociological or culturological problems are involved? Dr Veljko Rus, sociologist and researcher from Ljubljana, offers an explanation from his standpoint as to how and why such conflicts occur and what the causes and consequences are of such undesirable social conflicts.

"The events in Idrija are among other things the result of the fact that so far in Yugoslavia we have not managed to develop what is otherwise referred to as a vigorous policy of creating new jobs," Rus said at the beginning. "This was evident in the sixties even in the countries of western Europe, and one of the basic principles of that policy is that capital, that is, resources for investment, be invested in those regions where there is manpower; that means that capital seeks out a concentration of the appropriate manpower, instead of the latter wandering around and looking for the capital. This is a way of avoiding the large-scale migration of workers, which, according to the most recent research, brings very little or short-term benefit to employers, while to those who sell their labor in that way it brings almost no benefit whatsoever in the long run. This is perhaps difficult to realize at first, but that is the way it is. Slovenia's chronic problem is that we have too many workers from the other republics who have not been able or willing to adapt to the new conditions in Yugoslavia, and accordingly Slovenia has not adapted to them. I see the way out of this situation in Slovenia beginning to invest its resources, its capital if you will, in those republics where there is sufficient manpower, instead of investing in Slovenia in those branches of the economy

for which we do not have enough workers. This prototype has now begun to be realized through direct agreements on investment from one republic to another, which I regard as a good thing. That is, there is also a guarantee here that the investor will ensure the productivity of his investment projects with his own specialized personnel. Accordingly, the money invested will not be lost uncontrollably, nor will exploitation occur in view of the laws that are in effect in the country."

[Question] Yet for the moment physical workers from other republics are performing those lowliest jobs....

[Answer] Yes, I consider that to be a very bad thing. This is yet another viewpoint from which it is difficult for me to approve that policy of geographic mobility of manpower. A nationality should furnish its own "supply" for all the jobs, both the less exacting and the more exacting, so as not to begin to get the idea that it is predestined only for those better and more sophisticated jobs. This is the American concept, and it was effective during early industrialization, but in an advanced society it is both unpopular and debatable.

[Question] Those workers are criticized for not knowing the Slovenian language and for having difficulty adapting to Slovene culture.

[Answer] I do not know why they should not be expected to know the language. It is quite normal for anyone living in Slovenia to speak Slovene. Indeed I myself, whenever I went to Belgrade or Zagreb, attempted as much as I could to identify with the culture there. I considered that my obligation both to that community and to myself. And thus I did not feel myself to be marginal in the new place, and at the same time I had a fuller experience of it.

[Question] However, to master another language with ease and to take up another culture also requires a certain higher level of one's own development. Yugoslavia's manual laborers have almost none of that kind of culture, and those who acquire it are doing something else.

[Answer] There is something to that. That is, skilled workers who come to Slovenia are not aware of the problems related to the difficult adaptation or the learning of the language. We have many physicians from other republics and people of various intellectual occupations, and they have been able to fit in quite well. For them aculturation does not mean losing their own ethnic identity, since it is in the intellectual's nature to be able to refract several cultures within himself, to be able to overlap several value systems, and to be able to move from one language to another easily. That is why it probably seems altogether natural for such people, once they themselves have decided to come to Slovenia, if their move is the result of their own choice and commitment, for them then to adapt as fully as possible to the new community in which they find themselves by their own choice. This is a matter of cultural pluralism.

[Question] There would be fewer difficulties if the people coming to work in Yugoslavia could attain certain elements of the Slovenian language and culture in their own communities.

[Answer] Certainly there would. However, even in Zagreb, which is so close to us, there are no courses in the Slovenian language, much less a Slovenian school, although there are 80,000 Slovenes living in that city. But in Slovenia not only does everyone study Croato-Serbian, but there is also a special school where instruction is conducted in that language. Along with all of this we should nevertheless mention that workers employed temporarily in Slovenia are not an ethnic minority, so that we cannot bear that kind of responsibility for them either.

[Question] Nevertheless, how much in your opinion has Slovenia done for those most threatened workers, those who have come from elsewhere?

[Answer] Up to now we have not shown sufficient concern about them. Perhaps the reason lies indeed in our own mentality, that is, in the feeling that we are a small nation which should always defend itself and its interests first. This is related to the historical status of Slovenes, which is probably very unpleasant for the people who come here. That is, if we had to assume responsibility for the members of other nationalities, we are not altogether prepared to do so.

[Question] Does that account for some of the reasons for the intolerance shown so dramatically in Idrija?

[Answer] It seems to me that Idrija is important above all as a catalyst which expressed the very intensive sentiment of Slovenes that this community of ours has not been successful enough. That feeling is all the stronger because we have the impression that we have given a very great deal for the underdeveloped in our country and that the results from all that have not been adequate. That is, that entropy is creating a certain intolerance and unwillingness to accept a continuation of that situation. Precisely because we do not know what the money we give is spent for, there are the most widely differing rumors circulating through Slovenia. Here it is publicly said that enough money has been invested in the Institute of Albanology in Pristina and deposited in its bank account to build 200 smaller work organizations, or that 1 square meter of that building cost \$6,000. This is certainly irritating, especially when we realize that with all that aid the situation in the underdeveloped regions has become economically worse and worse, and at the same time the group of underdeveloped is being broadened more and more. That is, this entropy causes dissatisfaction, and that is much greater here than what is aroused by the workers from the other republics who have not adapted.

[Question] You have said that there is a strong impression in Slovenia that our community has not been successful enough. Can you explain why the feeling of community on the part of the Yugoslav nationalities is in crisis, and what is the way out?

[Answer] The cause of the present crisis lies in part in the fact that the entire principle of Yugoslavia's integration has been based exclusively on political integration. That is, even some 40 years after the creation of Yugoslavia we have to accept the fact that it is integrated more or less at the level of political entities. That is, at the level of the LC, at the level of

the government administration, at the level of the Army.... However, it is not economically integrated, nor professionally, nor intellectually integrated. That means that it does not have social integration. Yet the maturer a society becomes, the less adequate exclusively political channels are for the country's integration. At this point we should look to an altogether different level of integration. This does not mean moving from political to cultural integration, in the sense that we would like to create some unified Yugoslav culture at any price, since that is a matter for a lengthy historical process, but we should move onto sociotechnical integration. That is, we should first integrate Yugoslav science and technology. Perhaps we should begin with the railroads and the infrastructure, which at the same time would constitute modernization of the state. We also ought to have some Yugoslav Eureka (Eureka is the European research program, whose purpose is to use state-of-the-art technology to raise the productivity of the national economies of the European countries on the world market, author's note) or some Jugonet, by analogy with Euronet, that is, we ought to have a unified information system with synchronized documentation centers, we need to have a jointly elaborated export policy. Yet that necessitates a unified technological system, and then a high level of the integration of science in Yugoslavia, firm ties between universities and institutes. That is, we need to integrate the intellectual, which is very difficult to achieve, and then we need cooperation among large organizations of associated labor and the like. Only with this kind of linkage would the community of Yugoslav nationalities be given a renewed affirmation. At the same time we certainly should be careful to preserve the uniqueness of every nationality, since according to the most recent scientific knowledge gained in the world, nationality is extremely important, even to economic success. An example of that is the Japanese, who have accepted Western knowledge and information, but they have immediately adapted them to their own specific national context. In that way the knowledge took on a corresponding motivational strength, and it thereby became an impetus to creativity. We on the other hand have not been taking over enough foreign models, and when we do take them over, then we do not nationalize them sufficiently. They remain dry, without that national coloring which has a manifold role. That is, national identity is a fantastic social resource, it is a precious value and source of strength, and the fact that it is being debased in our country means that we do not know how to manage it properly. We ought to know how to respect national identity, since immense human resources can be constructively mobilized on the basis of it.

[Question] How do you explain the fact that it is precisely young people who have been the victims of the debased perception of nationalism, and that mostly from worker families?

[Answer] Young people have been hit the hardest by the absence of appropriate identification with anything. Identification with the youth organization is at a very low level; because they cannot find jobs, they do not have identification with their occupation or work organization either. So this is the problem of what is referred to as the "generation facing the closed door." All that is left for the members of that generation, then, is to identify with their own clan or to identify more broadly with the nationality. The debased nature of that identification is precisely an expression of how lost those

people are, of their inability to integrate. They are not in the least greater patriots than us who are not aggressive toward others, they merely have a desperate desire to bind themselves to something. As they realize that they have fewer opportunities for actual realization, their aggressiveness will be all the greater.

[Question] Are humanistic objects sufficiently present in it to ennoble national sentiments?

[Answer] In the schools there is above all a lack of modern subjects such as ecology, for example. The problem of the nationality might also be posed on the principle of regulating the ecosystem. We know the extent to which the rough-and-ready industrial societies destroyed forms of life, be they plants or human languages, in their early days. About 250 languages have vanished once and for all in just the last 100 years. That immense cultural treasury, created over thousands of years, was destroyed by a primitive industrial universalism. So, to defend and preserve the national culture is no longer just some particular right, but has become a duty of all humanity. Accordingly, it is the obligation of anyone who comes to live in Slovenia to reproduce Slovenian culture, just as it is my obligation, say, in Zagreb, to reproduce Croatian culture. That is not an obligation, then, toward Slovenes or Croats, or to any other nationality, but it is an obligation to humanity. And when in this space there is no longer a single person living who was born here, those who come here ought to revive that local culture, since it was born in all those specific sociogeographic parameters which make it nonrenewable and therefore a part of the general wealth of humanity. To that extent the cultural leveling such as is practiced today in the Austrian Province of Kärnten, and sometimes even in certain Yugoslav journals, is something inconceivable for me. This is an expression of the backwardness of industrial primitivism, which wants to level everything. So, the survival of individual nationalities is not a question of either democracy or socialism, but is a fundamental issue of maintaining the ecosystem. This is a basic condition of the quality of life.

[Question] The Yugoslav press has commented with a fair amount of confusion on the most recent writings of Matej Bor concerning his research into Wendish. This is regarded as a nationalistic excess, just like the tourist poster in Slovenia this summer that said "Slovenia--My Homeland." How is one to comment on that?

[Answer] As far as I know, Matej Bor's theories about Wendish are very old. I do not know the scientific value or line of argument of that work of his, but it seems to me that the reason why they are being read so readily today is that the Slovenes in this time, when we are falling behind Europe more and more in technology, science, economics, and culture, nevertheless would like to call attention to the fact that we are a part of Europe in spite of everything. There are two functions related to Bor's reflections that are important in that context: the first is the need for stronger national self-consciousness, which emerges when all other identities decline (portrayed in the picture that we did not come out of some swamp as lackeys of the Avars or any other nationalities), and the other, as I have said, is an expression of the

longing for Europe. When we feel that our belonging to Europe is getting weaker and weaker--for example, it was a great shock for us Slovenes that we were not included in Eureka--then we turn toward a search for our own European roots, even though they may be imaginary, the stuff of fables, and unsupported by adequate scientific argument. So, because of the crisis we find ourselves in a need arises quite naturally to compensate with myths. Since Slovenian nostalgia for central Europe is not directed against the nationalities of Yugoslavia, it is not a need to flee from Yugoslavia (as some people interpret it), but is rather a desire to see it through in Yugoslavia, but at a central European level. That is the alternative to Balkanization.

As for the poster "Slovenia--My Homeland," I think that that is the best advertising we have created in Slovenia. This is a new concept not only because its purpose is to advertise some economic resource, but because it attempts to mobilize social resources. The other republics should take this up as well: For example: "Croatia--My Country," or "Serbia--My Country." In no case does this threaten other nationalities in Yugoslavia. It merely recalls the obligation for us to cultivate what we have and to begin to take notice of what we have. This is an expression of national regeneration which I welcome. It is unjustifiable to condemn the development of local color because it is precious. It is an expression of the wealth of the entire world.

Let it also be said that this is not a challenge to Yugoslav unity, since true unity does not consist of standardization anyway, but of "unity indifference." This action is rather an expression of the tendencies of a mature industrial society in which there is what is referred to as a "mosaic culture," and it is extremely sensitive about preserving its autonomy and separateness. For example, I like very much the poster which recently appeared as part of the same series and which says: "Slovenia--The Country on the Southern Side of the Alps." That is, we always considered that the northern Alps were more beautiful. Now there has been a turnaround, and we are wondering why the gentleness of the southern side of the Alps is not beautiful as well!?

[Question] Although this was not the topic of our interview, still, have you reflected on why our aggressive nationalism is related precisely to sporting events?

[Answer] Probably because we have the concept of a physical anticulture in which competition and team allegiance dominate instead of an alliance of societies and cooperation. Motivational mechanisms which abuse national sentiments have to be developed in order to maintain such a concept.

7045

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

MOTIVATIONS OF WARTIME OPPOSITIONISTS EXPLORED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 85 pp 22-23

[Interview with Lt Col Gen Milija Stanisic (retired), military journalist and historian, by Velizar Zecevic: "Where Did So Many Quislings Come From"; date and place not given]

[Text] The recent TV program "Eyewitness Accounts" encouraged the participants to draw a line of continuity between today's nationalism and the nationalistic fanaticism in our country during the war. Milija Stanisic, military journalist and historian, a retired lieutenant colonel general, recalled at the time that fanaticized nationalism has led directly to treason on our soil.

One of the participants in that discussion mentioned the possibility that in relative terms there were on our soil the greatest number of people ready to aid the occupier with guns in their hands. Brought up in a spirit of a love for freedom, the younger age groups in the audience might have been surprised: Where did so many quislings come from? Milija Stanisic has this to say in that connection: "Although domestic treason is as old as war, in World War II this phenomenon had much broader dimensions and a particular character." He then went on to say:

"At the end of the thirties and on the threshold of the 5th decade of this century there was a regrouping on the international scene. The forces which lined up on one side wanted to rule the world and reorder it on the foundations of the Nazi Fascist ideology, while the anti-Fascist and revolutionary democratic forces were unified on the other and were determined to defend the foundations of world civilization which were under threat. The conflict and collision between them was decisive, all the way to the adversary's destruction. Both sides had to mobilize and commit all available physical and nonmaterial potential and to seek allies throughout the world. That kind of constellation of forces and relations was the general framework in which quislingism was born."

Quislingism in Yugoslavia

[Question] It is well known that the members of the quisling military formations in our country were numerous. How did that happen?

[Answer] The written history gives the following figures on the number of members of quisling units: At the end of 1941 about 150,000, at the end of 1943 about 350,000 (this also includes the Chetniks), and in early 1945 about 190,000 people.

In this space we can only make reference to the principal causes and factors which contributed to the phenomenon of quislingism and to its large scale:

The occupier was striving with all his strength to create the most ramified possible quisling apparatus so as not only to strengthen the occupation system and to exploit Yugoslavia's resources, but also in order to send his troops from Yugoslavia to the other fronts. With his military, political, and economic strength he did establish quisling creations and made it possible for them to consolidate themselves and get better organized;

By the logic of things, the popular revolution which took place within the framework of the National Liberation Struggle--a revolution with deep roots, broad currents, and working class goals--was opposed from the first day by many opponents, all those forces which desired to preserve the old order on regardless what grounds. In order to achieve that goal, they marshaled all their strength to create and strengthen their own armed forces so as to choke off the revolutionary democratic movement together with the occupier;

The church institutions of all three major religions, which had considerable prestige and influence with the people, supported the quisling constructions and collaboration and fanned the flames of nationalistic revanchism;

A portion of the masses of the previously ethnically oppressed nationalities and ethnic minorities harbored the illusion at the outset that the occupier was bringing them national liberation, and there were quite a few of those who entered into the quisling movements not on political-ideological grounds, but primarily because they were following "distinguished" people;

A considerable portion of the civil service of the prewar government, which was incidentally quite numerous, took up employment in the quisling structures above all because that was a way of maintaining the existence of their families;

A committed urban element and a considerable portion of the rural poor joined the quisling military and political units since they saw that as an opportunity to seize material wealth in various raids and robberies;

The mobilization of personnel into the quisling formations was mainly done by force, and there was every opportunity to use repressive measures toward all those who did not respond;

The quisling sets of leaders deliberately drew the soldiers of their units into committing crimes. And once they had blood on their hands, then there was no turning back! The militant spirit of our people also played no small role in all of that.

[Question] But how do you regard the collaboration of the Chetniks with the occupier?

[Answer] It is well known that Draza Mihailovic's Chetnik organization was formed as a movement of resistance to the occupier, based on a "waiting" strategy. However, as soon as the popular uprising led by the CPY began all over Yugoslavia in mid-1941, essential changes occurred in the policy and strategy of the Chetnik movement. The National Liberation Movement was proclaimed to be the principal enemy which had to be destroyed at any price and regardless of the means. Having committed themselves to that kind of strategic conception, the Chetniks became the principal force of the counterrevolution. However, the Chetnik movement had neither political nor military forces to bring about that kind of objective, since the National Liberation Movement was markedly superior in strength. That is why the Chetniks established an alliance with the occupier and all the quislings in a variety of arrangements.

The Chetnik Collaboration

Even before the uprising began, Draza Mihailovic had established contacts with the quisling administration of Serbia, continuing them into the summer of 1941 with Nedic; in November he personally conducted negotiations with the Germans and at the end of the year he began to legalize some of its detachments in Serbia as part of Nedic's quisling formations. At the beginning of 1942 open collaboration of the Chetniks and Italian occupiers began in Montenegro, Sandzak, Hercegovina, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Lika, and indeed even Slovenia. In those regions the Chetnik armed forces collaborated most closely and participated most vigorously in the occupier's operations to destroy the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, obtaining from him arms, ammunition, food, clothing, and transportation equipment. That same year many Chetnik commands drew up written agreements with the Ustashi and with the Montenegrin separatists.

At the time of the battle on the Neretva Chetnik collaboration with the occupier became widely known in the world. The Western allies gradually abandoned the Chetniks, ultimately rejecting even Draza because even after Italy's capitulation they did not want to wage a struggle against the occupier and because even then they continued to collaborate with the occupier. But the governments of England and the United States persistently attempted to preserve the old order and monarchy in Yugoslavia by using a new policy.

The leadership of the Chetnik movement justified its collaboration with the occupier the whole time on the basis of "tactical reasons." Not infrequently one encounters the assertion even in our own journalism that the Chetnik collaboration took place within a tactical framework. The historical facts refute that assertion, since they show that the policy and strategy of the Chetnik movement, guided by class interests and a class blindness, took up quisling positions as a body--the positions of national treason.

Overcoming the Crisis

[Question] How is it possible for the nationalities of Yugoslavia, led by the CPY, to survive a major historical and social crisis such as the one in 1941?

[Answer] The country's occupation placed the nationalities of Yugoslavia in an extremely problematical historical situation: Some were threatened with the danger of physical annihilation, and others with being assimilated by neighboring fascist states. The occupier widened the fratricidal struggle: Aggressive nationalisms, chauvinistic insanity, hatred, and horror gushed forth on all sides. Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav idea were threatened with the danger of being trampled under foot. This was the gravest year for the South Slav nationalities since they arrived in the Balkans.

The CPY, which at that time came into the lead of the popular struggle, responded to the newly arisen historical and social crisis with an offensive position and policy expressed in the programmatic platform of the National Liberation Struggle. The struggle against the occupier and his helpers was declared to be the most important task, and at the same time prospects were opened up to the working masses and the ethnically oppressed masses that a new Yugoslavia would rise up out of their struggle, a government with an equitable social order and a community of equal nationalities. That was the strategy of unity between the class struggle and the national struggle.

By contrast with the occupier's and the quislings' policy of carving up Yugoslavia and fanning the flames of fratricidal struggle and national retribution, the CPY proclaimed the internationalist policy of fraternal solidarity of all the nationalities in the struggle against the occupier and his lackeys. The principle of brotherhood and unity became the programmatic goal and one of the most important and essential values of the revolution. At the same time the National Liberation Movement fought against both nationalisms: both against the separatistic and against the unitaristic, with equal irreconcilability and determination.

Nationalism Today

The correct programmatic orientation was not in and of itself sufficient to get out of the profound crisis at that time. It was equally important for the Communists to be capable of action in order to effectively achieve the goals and perform the tasks. Above all, the ideological unit of the CPY was decisive.

[Question] [Line missing in original]...beaten soundly in the National Liberation War. How do you interpret their revival today?

[Answer] Immediately after the end of the war the protagonists of nationalism were the defeated bourgeois forces. The triumph of the socialist revolution considerably narrowed their social base and power, and the revolutionary enthusiasm and action of the masses made their activity more difficult. However, the contradictions of our society--economic, political, and cultural--have broadened the social base for development of nationalism, have made it

possible for it to "legalize itself," and to display itself with an eruptive force in certain situations and in certain communities. Quite recently nationalism has been reproduced out of the defectiveness of the political and economic system.

Deformations in the sphere of the basic production relation, neglect of the class aspect for the ethnic aspect, republic, provincial, and regional political and economic exclusiveness, and a lack of sufficient unity in the ranks of the LCY--those are the main causes and factors which have made it possible for nationalism to make quite strong inroads onto the social scene. And rightwing political-ideological forces have moved into that social space and have derived their power from the class-social stratification of society and from the widespread bourgeois mentality. They find a basis and support in the world anticommunist movement, of which they are an integral part, and that encourages their aggressiveness.

Nationalism has come to affect even the young people. There is nothing unusual in this, since they do not live in a social vacuum. In addition to the general social generators we have enumerated, nationalism occurs in a segment of young people as a consequence of dissatisfaction with their marginal position in society and also because they lack the opportunity to place their creative potential at the service of the country's development. The armed revolution affords us valuable experience in this regard: Young people were the principal force of the National Liberation Movement; the CPY in practice made the young people responsible for the triumph of the revolution and gave it an opportunity to show its abilities in deeds.

[Box, p 23]

The Ideological Denominator

[Question] Were the quislings in Yugoslavia ideologically compact, did they have a common denominator?

[Answer] Although the quislings, all of them without exception, arose out of the most conservative portion of the bourgeoisie from the standpoint of political ideology, their ideology was not homogeneous. Some assimilated more and some less of the fascist and Nazi ideology, while others looked to the ideology of bourgeois nationalism. But the political differences among them were far greater, since they were set in opposition and indeed were even alienated on an ethnic basis. However, they all held in common their satisfaction with anticommunism and their ideological-political orientation directed them and encouraged them to serve the occupier loyally and to collaborate with one another. They justified their service to the fascist master as an alleged sacrifice "for the salvation of the people." But the historical facts show that all they did was to commit national treason. Not a single one of the quisling groupings can be relieved of the responsibility for serving the occupier, since there can be no such thing as "petty" and "grand" national treason. It always has been and still is the gravest crime and mortal sin against one's people.

As the war approached its end, when the superiority of the National Liberation Movement was clearly pronounced, all the occupier's collaborators in Yugoslavia merged into a united front of treason and counterrevolution, which was doomed to experience the same destiny as the fascist occupier himself.

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SOCIOLOGY

YUGOSLAVIA

SPLIT PARTY VETERAN EXPLAINS LC FAILURES AMONG YOUTH

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 85 pp 24-26

[Interview with Vicko Krstulovic, war hero and Hero of Socialist Labor, by Mila Stula: "Where Have the Fathers Been"; date and place not given]

[Text] Eighty-year-old Vicko Krstulovic, war hero and Hero of Socialist Labor, says of himself: "Perhaps I don't use punctuation marks correctly, but I know how to think in Marxist terms. I graduated from the university of the revolution and life in the Split Shipyard."

Well known for always being outspoken, he has talked about everything, often with consequences that were not exactly pleasant, and he is the only minister of the federal government (of labor and maritime shipping) who left his post without hesitation or haggling and went back to the "grass roots," to his native Split, because in 1952 that was necessary. And he never regarded that as a penalty.

At the time when he was a child Split was a farm laborers' town with a population of about 18,000. His father, an old Socialist, brought him up in a spirit of yearning for a national rebirth and with the ideas of the working class movement and Yugoslavism. He grew up and matured in "Red Split," a revolutionary before the war, a veteran of the heaviest battles of our National Liberation Struggle, a postwar builder and "soldier" of the party, as he refers to himself; Vicko Krstulovic is the right man to talk to about what has been happening in Split [Question], about how there have been opponents of the revolution in a segment of young people in the city where the young generations were the leaders of the revolution, and about where their fathers have been.

[Answer] I feel sorry for these young people who have matured after us because of this chaotic situation they have come into. There are many things that need to be corrected. I do not pass the buck to the young people at all. Young people are like a young vineyard, they need to be nurtured and protected. If we do not influence them to build their characters, and we have not been doing this, they are exposed to the influence and manipulations of the enemy--the former bourgeoisie which has lost power, members of the Fifth Column, and Ustasha and Chetnik families. These are snakes whom we have kept within our body. But we can find those who are at fault for our deviations--those who brought this situation about.

[Question] You might be accused of speaking out of a sense of injury!

[Answer] I have never envied anyone as a matter of fact. I am simply sorry that many people have failed the test, they have given in to their own sense of power and authority: It would have been better if they were physically dead, but had remained politically pure. That would have been better both for our sakes and that of their children. And I feel sorry for those children, I mean it. After all, it is not a matter of indifference to them that their father or their grandfather betrayed the achievements of our revolution.

[Question] You often use the old sailor's saying that when a ship is really going down, the captain must abandon it!

[Answer] I said that even in 1971, when the euphoria of the mass movement was at its height. That euphoria was only the consequence of the policy of separation. If we are not Yugoslavs, but everyone boasts of his own nationality rather than being a Yugoslav, where does that take us, and where has it taken us even today as a consequence? Regionalism, which in 1971 resulted in the euphoria, and these regionalisms which we have today are really costing us a great deal. We have nothing that is united. We need to balance our plans once and for all and begin to make measurements by the Yugoslav yardstick and do so not on the basis of wishes, but on the basis of possibilities and needs.

[Question] Many people say that the party has neglected and forgotten the young generation, that it simply has not been mindful enough of it!

[Answer] The torch of justice of the working class movement under which we developed, matured, and learned has always been a flame in Split. I remember the impression which the songs of our fathers had on us, especially that one "Our red banner will unfurl everywhere, the struggle will be waged for them, and blood will be shed." I was 15 when I joined SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia], I left school in the elementary grades, I am a son of a farm laborer, and I am a worker. The veterans of the working class movement, both our own and those abroad, impressed me, as indeed they do today. However, factionalism was a fault of prewar party work, and the fact that certain individuals wanted to raise themselves above the line of the party and its program. And recently, perhaps over the last 20 years or so, the party has been unmindful not only of the young generation, but also of the working class and the peasants. Yet that cannot be said so simply. These are in turn only the consequences.

[Question] But what then are the causes?

[Answer] The causes go all the way back to the end of the war. At that time I was the minister of labor in the federal government and the minister of maritime affairs. Our First 5-Year Plan was based on heavy industry and ferrous metallurgy. I agreed with that, but I wanted agriculture and the food processing industry to be placed in the same category as the raw materials base, and that was not accepted; nor was transportation, which is the circulatory system, accepted, though Marx said long ago that "transportation comes before and comes after production and the market." And if the circulatory system is not

operating, then things get hung up everywhere. I also proposed the construction sector for that category, and that was not accepted either. Before the war I worked on construction projects as an ordinary worker and I know from experience that without the construction worker there is no water supply, no sewer system, no railroad line, no bridge, no housing, no factory. Those are the roots of the mistakes we are now paying for.

[Question] Do you mean to say that the roots of all our economic and political problems are in...

[Answer] ...the political bureaucracy which has not respected the law of value or the law of supply and demand. The criticism has always been directed toward the administrative bureaucracy, toward the technocracy, but the political bureaucracy has remained untouchable, over and above the laws of life. And that political bureaucracy still fails to understand that never in history have rural villages been the result of construction, but rather the reverse. And if we in our country continue with this attitude toward agriculture, the influx into the city from rural areas will be greater and greater, the rural settlements will dry up, and then the cities will dry up as well. The large streams arise out of the small springs of life, and our people have failed to understand this. That is why they have not understood either where Dalmatia's isolation leads.

[Question] How can you talk about Dalmatia as being isolated? Where do you get that?

[Answer] Both Dalmatia and Split! Split is a city extending from Trogir to Omis and has a population of more than 3,000 and an immense number of unemployed. From the standpoint of transportation that city is even today outside all the streams, while in olden times the caravans went from Split and Dubrovnik to the Balkans and the Danube. Under Austro-Hungary they kept Dalmatia isolated for political and ethnic reasons. Austria built Trieste for itself, and Hungary Rijeka. During the time of Aleksandar Karadjordjevic the Belgrade--Sarajevo--Mostar--Ploce (Ploce was at that time called Aleksandrovo) line was designed, and the line Metkovic--Ploce was partially built. In 1955 I sent a proposal to Comrade Tito, the Politburo, and the War Council containing the general features of a design for a railroad line on the route Zenica--Travnik--Bugojno through the Rama Valley, with one branch to Mostar--Ploce--Duvno--Split and the other to Foca--Gacko--Bileca--Dubrovnik. I said at the time that they should reflect well on which decision to make on grounds of geography, strategy, economics, and nationality policy. And in 1956 the decision was made to build the line from Sarajevo to Ploce, which is now called Kardeljevo, via Mostar. That line cut off Split, Sibenik, Zadar, and Dubrovnik. The influx of population from the hinterland has been immense, the ties with the interior do not exist at all, and the opportunities for expansion of industry are scant. Everything has favored rising unemployment.

[Question] But you participated in planning that development policy!

[Answer] Yes, I did. But I always said what I thought, which is probably why I ceased at an early date to be in a position where I was able to have an

impact on that policy. If only life had refuted me rather than the others. It is now evident, at least I hope so, what a great mistake it was not to have adopted the Adriatic orientation in Yugoslavia's development. The Adriatic has been our most reliable road out into the world since times immemorial. And now we do not even have a normally developed merchant marine. In 1948 we did not defend ourselves successfully against Stalin's hellish plan as a matter of course, but rather those few merchant vessels went out into the world by way of the Adriatic and not only carried on trade, but also carried the truth about our struggle all over the world. And it was the sailors from Split who played that important role.

[Question] And now the sons of those men from Split have in our time been throwing the sons and grandsons of those same fathers and grandfathers into the sea!

[Answer] The family is the place to start. Those are not all children of men from Split, I repeat, there are also the children of Ustasha and Chetnik families here, and there are also those who lack consciousness, people who are mistaken. A large number of those unemployed young people see no future ahead of them at all. Nor has the party done anything. When the decision was made in 1952 for the Communist Party to become the League of Communists, since the former was sectarian and narrow-minded, and I cannot remember all the things that our comrade theoreticians had to say about it, and that we should move toward making the party a mass organization, I said: "Comrades, let us be careful what we do, we will be adding water to good wine." We abolished SKOJ as a pool from which to draw personnel, and in 1968 we abolished the Student Alliance, and we offered those young people nothing in exchange.

[Question] The responsibility, then, lies on the party leadership?

[Answer] The party and political leadership. Back at the Seventh LCY Congress in 1958 we resolved in Ljubljana that we would undertake the withering away of the state, yet many more advanced states had not done that. We wanted to deal with a state which we had not yet put on one foot, much less on both. Where was our material base, where was our social superstructure, and where was our social consciousness? Some seven generations should have passed, not just one, for us then to begin that withering away of the state. We have taken step after step in the direction of lawlessness, and the power has gone to alien elements, to the remnants of the bourgeoisie, to opportunists, and they have been quick to take advantage of it. They used what was easiest for them, they began to manipulate our children.

[Question] Does that mean that you are in favor of a "firm hand"?

[Answer] I have never favored a rigid policy, but I am in fact very sensitive about respecting everyone's individual personality. I don't like power over me, nor do I like power over people, but only cooperation. However high the position, I was always guided by that and felt a greater responsibility. After all, if I mess up as a man in that category, then I should bear more serious consequences than some young man who is just reaching maturity, who has been carried away by his emotions, and so on. One has to start with himself

and not see where the majority is, and where the minority is, but see who is right.

We are all equal citizens under the constitution and under law, but we are not all headed toward the same goal. That is why everyone should be verified as to his performance, and to a lesser extent on the basis of what he says. But from congress to congress we have repeatedly issued manifestos and declarations. We have a whole mountain of administration and law, I think that even the UN does not have so many. But in spite of all of that many people still find it very difficult to give up power. Just take the Rankovic case, for example....

[Question] He was dealt with back in 1966!

[Answer] That is not the problem, but it lies elsewhere. I told him that to his face back in 1962, when he called me on the carpet because of Narodna Tehnika [organization for popular scientific and technical education]. To be secretary of the LCY at that time was to have all the work anyone could handle, but he was also the head of personnel and the head of UDB [State Security Administration] and the minister of internal affairs, and all of that without oversight. That was intolerable. Not that I am without faults, I am certain that because of our inconsistencies we provided material both for the talk and the action of enemies, especially a portion of the clergy.

[Question] The church in your native city is very powerful, and its impact on young people is almost stronger than the influence of both the party and the youth organization!

[Answer] Back in 1946 I said that we should be cautious with the church. Then in 1970 Bishop Franic was somehow allowed to build a virtual Vatican in the center of Split. In Split we allowed the blackest reaction, the Black Internationale, to bring up our children.

[Question] Although you have not been living in Split, but in Belgrade, you have never severed your ties with Split, so that it can be said that all of that happened in front of your very eyes?

[Answer] In front of my eyes? I have been almost powerless. Since 1965 it might be said that I have been all but isolated as far as the party goes. I have given warnings about many things, but no one has ever done what I said. Sometimes they did not even hear me out.

[Question] It began last year with the Christmas overture "paid for" by the secretary of the Split SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs], it continued on the playing fields, and it probably culminated when the cadets were thrown in the sea. An attack on someone's child can bring a response in kind. Is thought being given to that?

[Answer] Just listen to the young people at athletic contests, not only in Split, but also in Zagreb, Belgrade, and elsewhere. They shout "Ustashi!" to Hajduk [Split's soccer team], but Hajduk was a Partizan team. Politics should

not be allowed to get mixed up with athletics. But where the masses are, politics will also be there. Almost every such game is attended by top political figures, who should have reacted more rapidly to outbursts of all kinds. Every politician has his own judgment, some root for Dinamo, others for Zvezda.

[Question] Who do you root for?

[Answer] I back every worker team, and I naturally like Hajduk! But I do not approve what the fans have been doing at the Hajduk stadium. However much we teach our children and grandchildren our Partizan values, the Ustasha and Chetnik remnants are doing the same with their own.

[Question] What, then, has been the impact of the school, and what have we taught our children?

[Answer] That is the problem. How much concern have we really paid to this? Insofar as we as a society and as communists have been successful, to that extent we have brought up our children in that spirit. That is our greatest sign of recognition. I have always been against putting up the pictures of living leaders and revolutionaries in museums except for Comrade Tito, naming enterprises and streets after them, and so on, since while a man is alive it is always possible that he will change. Pay honor to everyone, but lend to no one. But then when he leaves this world, as the people say, then give him his due, either a plaque or a monument. For myself I want nothing. Just my first name and last name and the five-pointed star.

[Question] According to many people, you are one of those whose life has always been in tune with his ideas.

[Answer] I did not fall into the party from a pear tree, nor am I an interloper. I am a soldier of the party, and I don't like to have people sing my praises. Do you know that Dalmatia furnished 135,000 Partizans, 25,000 of whom were killed. So, I have a pledge to the dead to remain honest. After all, anyone who wants to remain a consistent revolutionary has to be clear about these things--not to get out of the furrow, not to outrun the plow, and especially not to fly too high. There is nothing higher than the party and its achievements. That has been forgotten by the leaders who led us into chaos. We dare not forget that there are no big men without small men, and no future without young people. But recently I am afraid that we old fellows have not been exactly the best examples for them.

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SERBIAN OFFICIAL DISCUSSES NATIONALISM, STATISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 85 pp 11-13

[Interview with Zarko Papic, chairman of the Committee of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia for Science, by Momcilo Djorgovic: "How To Get Rid of Those of Our Own Who Are Helping the Pasha"; date and place not given]

[Text] DANAS: We are witnesses of quite a confused situation on the social scene. There is a great deal of talk, but not all that much getting done, everything is being questioned, even society's basic orientation, and there are many things that have to be overcome. Radicalisms of varying origin are afoot. Where do you find the reasons for all of this?

Papic: There are two causes of this. The first is that topical one. That is, I doubt that anyone has failed to understand that we face very acute socioeconomic contradictions, accompanied by an economic crisis and a stagnation of self-management, and at the same time the subjective factor has not shown sufficient ability to act rapidly and effectively. The other is the historical factor--since the prospects of this society for several decades ahead of us are being refracted at this very time. It seems to me that we are at a crossroads, and that means that we will either prove that socialist self-management and international equality are capable of development under the new conditions, all of that with an accelerated scientific-technological development and a "new" economy, or we will become a society in mothballs, sinking out to the margins, becoming not a Balkan province, but a province in the Balkans. Along with the danger of our becoming economically and politically dependent.

DANAS: Among the reasons for the crisis people also refer to "decentralized statism," which usually gives national equality and the interest of the nationality as its *raison d'etre*.

Papic: We have not been successful in resisting the flood of the practice of "decentralized statism." In many respects the actual distribution of social power has bureaucratically expropriated from the workingman what should have been his authority. That is, he does not enjoy social equality within his own nationality. Bureaucratization is logically accompanied by a tendency for

equality and inequality to be equally distributed among the nationalities and ethnic minorities. Bureaucracies are equal in their usurpation of power. The working people are equal in their loss of the power of self-management in all of our nationalities, while at the same time they are equally unequal within their own nationalities.

I would say that the problem of equality is today being raised in an emphatic way from this class standpoint, and the failure to resolve it, and that in the sense of its social aspect, is separating the equality of the nationality itself from its class content and threatening to empty it and make it hollow.

DANAS: But it seems that the class interest has vanished in the face of the interest of the nationality. It seems to many people today that the class interest is in fact empty and nothing more than a flatus vocis, while the absolute primacy of the interest of the nationality and its reality are unmistakable.

Papic: The problem of ethnic equality began to take on an acute form as a state of real inequality relative to neighboring nationalities. With this kind of economic situation and this kind of dinar, along with this kind of stagnation of scientific-technological development, all of our nationalities, all of us, are sinking, equal one to the other, into a state of inequality in the international context. In addition, we have to free ourselves of the autarkic view of the world and not reduce everything to the confines of our own country, since we are not alone on the globe.

Certainly, equality of the nationalities is a condition for our social and material progress, but the converse is also valid. It is clear that there will be interethnic conflicts if the room for fulfillment of various interests is narrowed. Accelerated material development will reduce those conflicts, will open up new room for the practice of equality of our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

It would be a very dangerous thing if ethnic equality were reduced to the political sphere and if it were deprived of its meaning in terms of self-management and class. I am afraid that such tendencies do exist in our country and have been arising as a consequence of the growth of decentralized statism.

That is, if we want to develop equality, we cannot do it by "defending everything that exists," but precisely by undertaking changes along a clear line of the development of self-management and equality on the foundations of the Yugoslav socialist revolution

DANAS: There are those who think, however, that the class interest is only a disguise for unitarianism.

Papic: The problem we have been speaking about is class in nature, no doubt about it. Exclusiveness and autarky are today not the banner of the struggle for equality of the nationalities, but rather the other bureaucratic side of the class front in our country. After all, from the class standpoint the historic task of the state or of the state and socialist self-management is to

open up room for integration of associated labor. The associated workers can win out over the bureaucracies of their respective communities only if they are united throughout all of Yugoslavia. In that sense integration of the economy throughout the unified Yugoslav market has paramount class importance, and it also goes beyond the economic results and the results in development, which are themselves of the first order.

But that at the same time means that the interpretation which sees the role of "its own" state to lie in exclusiveness as a synonym of equality, and see self-management as only the reaching of agreement among states, is historically and objectively distorting the class content of the categories it is dealing with. I am certainly referring to equality and self-management. In such interpretations the class content becomes bureaucratic and ceases to be working class content.

DANAS: One of the greatest blockades to future development has come out into the light of day, a centralism that by and large is decentralized. At the same time, however, we constantly issue warnings about the danger of federal centralism. What is more, one gets the impression that it is in fact more dangerous than the statisms of the republics and provinces.

Papic: It is the role of the Federation to effectively create the prerequisites for formation of association and for overcoming exclusiveness. That is the opportunity for self-management, not centralism. Incidentally, never in history has an organizational form been decisive in and of itself, but rather its historic content and class significance have been what was crucial. The Federation, the republics and the provinces are forms whereby the socialist revolution has been carried out in our country, that is, they are the forms of the ethnic and social liberation of the working people. So the demand for overcoming decentralized statism does not signify federal centralism, but anti-statism of all kinds. Unless this is understood and a decisive step taken toward getting beyond the situation, the problems will accumulate, blockades will be created, and everything together will lead toward statist centralism. Thus fighting centralism means waging a struggle to degovernmentalize the republics and provinces. It is very wrong to suppose that republic or provincial statism is "nevertheless something better" than central statism. That kind of defense of decentralized statism objectively "opens up the door" to centralism in the context of large problems in society.

DANAS: To what extent is that unfavorable set of circumstances influencing scientific-technological development?

Papic: If we look at the pace of the changes taking place in the world and at the new pattern of the economic structure, I think that the state of technological development is Yugoslavia's greatest problem if we take the long view. In 1984 Yugoslavia set aside for science between one-fourth and one-third of what Hungary or Bulgaria set aside for the same purpose. We do not have a unified strategy for technological development, but rather we have until recently been a real hunting ground for the international companies. It is grotesque that we should be so afraid that centralism will be smuggled in through a unified scientific-technological concept, but it does not bother us that

there should be centers which have a direct impact on our technological development outside Yugoslavia and that this "centralism" of the transnational companies should indeed be formally accepted by signing contracts to import technology. Naturally, I do not feel that we should cut ourselves off in this regard, but taking our own technological future into our hands is the only condition for opening up the economy generally and emerging from the autarkic concept of development.

DANAS: Does that mean that "national technologies" are untenable?

Papic: The normative and actual abstinence of the Federation in this regard is strange. It seems that science is still viewed as a conventional social activity in the sense of consumption. That is, that this is a matter of general culture and that like the museums and theaters it should remain in the domain of the republics and provinces. Do we need to repeat once again that science is a productive force and technological development is the foundation of a modern economy? If that is the case, then the role of the Federation here would have to be equal to the one which it has had in agriculture or the fuel and power industry.

The divided nature of the market is causing the economic crisis. Division in the development of technology, and there is quite a bit of it, causes a crisis in development with much graver and more long-lasting consequences. Thus criticism of the national economies must also extend to criticism of a possible process whereby "national technologies" would be formed. Of course, "national technologies" are not even theoretically possible, by the nature of things. But it is not impossible for that "orientation" to emerge as an ideological cloak of the decentralized statisms.

That would be an extremely great danger, and its ultimate aspect does not concern either the economy or technology, but the country's freedom and independence.

Work on strategies for technological development in many communities, republics and provinces, and a Yugoslav synthesis of that strategy, with mechanisms for guidance, coordination, and planning, are not set up in opposition to one another. The essential thing is that the economy be the real vehicle for technological development and that the Yugoslav strategy protect the economy from the technological exclusiveness of the republics and provinces. In that way technological development becomes founded upon self-management and becomes an instrument for integration of the economy.

DANAS: The nationalists have been building their platforms on "criticism of everything that exists," bringing out reinterpretations of historical events, which ought to be the legitimate basis of their demands. At the same time, the thesis is being advanced that we have benign and malignant nationalisms, and there is a tendency for entire nationalities to be classified under the heading of nationalism, as though they were predestined for that. Would you say something in that context about Serbian nationalism?

Papic: I think that nationalism has to be dealt with each within its respective ranks. The essential thing about the history of Serbian nationalism is that it has always been the other pole in Serbia's political thought. One political current was socialist, the one which tended toward class and national liberation. The other, the nationalistic, the royalist, was based on a different class foundation. The conflict of those two ideas has lasted a long time and in many respects has in fact determined Serbia's history. As a last- ing factor of Serbian nationalism, it has also been an amalgam of bureaucratic and liberalistic consciousness. It has sought a point of support in the bureaucratic relations of the statist state and the liberalistic practice of the bourgeoisie. All of this was very perspicaciously observed and criticized by one of the greatest Serbian and Yugoslav socialists--Svetozar Markovic.

In its early phase Serbian nationalism was grounded in the aspiration for expansion of the large state at the expense of our nationalities and then in revisions of the history of its own people at an uncritical "love of tradition," and a neutralization of internal social contradictions and class conflicts by manufacturing a myth about the "Serbian people" as something monolithic and progressive in and of itself. The "new" Serbian nationalism has tried to ground itself in federal statism and to give it the unitaristic attributes of the great state. Just like nationalism in Croatia, it has set itself up in opposition to the new steps of self-management and has adapted to the dogmatism of "socialist" bureaucracy.

The current onset of Serbian nationalism characteristically disputes the Serbian Communists, who by their own historical deeds, in the struggle for national and social liberation, fought for the position of the leading subjective force of the Serbian nationality. This is a thesis which can be found directly or indirectly in writings which conceive themselves to be literature or science and which work up the thesis that the Communists have betrayed the interests of the Serbian nationality. Serbian Communists have been fighting uncompromisingly against that thesis, on behalf of the truth and socialism.

That kind of perception of criticism creates an irrational atmosphere. All the experience of history shows that nationalism is best defeated within the respective nationalities, in the way, for example, that the Serbian Communists dealt with the Chetniks, and the Croat Communists with the Ustashi.

It is a very bad thing when one sees only someone else's nationalism, not his own as well. That kind of practice can seriously shake unity in the League of Communists. I therefore think that it is good to paraphrase Karadjordje's well-known words: "Everyone kill whoever is helping the Pasha in his own situation," that is, everyone must fight first of all against the nationalism of his own nationality.

DANAS: There are malicious associations which relate the current struggle of Serbian Communists to straighten out relations in SR Serbia to Serbian nationalism and the famous Serbian "desire for hegemony."

Papic: In view of its composite nature the contradictions of Yugoslavia, and especially the cases of exclusiveness, normally occur in stronger form in SR

Serbia. Changes are needed in the direction of greater community and unity within the republic, but that does not mean a strengthening of statism, but precisely the community should open up room to self-management. The situation up to now has tended to break up associated labor in SR Serbia. Nor does that advocacy of unity in SR Serbia have anything at all to do with Serbian nationalism except that it is a good way of chopping off its roots and reducing the space it has in which to maneuver. In that sense those associations and insinuations that connect those two things are extremely counterproductive. I think that there is an ever greater understanding of this problem in Yugoslavia. The League of Communists of Serbia, as certainly is evident, has been very resolute in struggling against nationalism. The front of that struggle is being broadened and is being stated in more specific terms.

In connection with this question I would recall Kardelj's well-known position that the League of Communists cannot carry out the struggle for socialism if it only or primarily fights the enemies of socialism, but is above all a struggle for its own positive program and for solving the problems of society.

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PSYCHIATRIST BLAMES IDEOLOGY FOR DECLINE OF MORAL VALUES

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 85 pp 8-12

[Interview with Dr Jovan Raskovic, MD, chief of the neuropsychiatric division of the Sibenik Clinical Center and university professor, by Dragan Tanasic: "Intended Nonsense Is the Most Dangerous"; date and place not given]

[Text] Jovan Raskovic, MD, chief of the neuropsychiatric division of the Sibenik Clinical Center, university professor, and regular lecturer on psychotherapy and social psychiatry in the postgraduate program at the School of Medicine of Zagreb University, is much better known and has achieved more recognition abroad than in his own country. He has been a teaching professor of neurophysiology at several universities in the world, is an honorary member of several foreign associations of psychiatrists, and the organizer of professional congresses and symposiums abroad. He is also the author of 150 professional papers and several monographs in the field of psychoanalysis, jealousy and separation, the anthropology of death, and the ontology and sociological aspects of aggressiveness. This month Professor Raskovic will be traveling to Israel to argue once again in defense of the dignity of his profession.

[Question] In your study "Antipsihiatrija u teoriji i praksi" [Antipsychiatry in Theory and Practice], published back in 1974, you wrote that psychiatrists often become the weapon of an ideology, assuming the role of a policeman on behalf of society, with the difference that they are considerably better educated than professional policemen....

[Answer] You yourself are aware that even the exact sciences such as physics and mathematics, which have a social function only indirectly, have been manipulated.... It was much simpler to do this with psychiatry, which is socially formulated and structured through and through, and many psychiatrists either consciously or unconsciously accepted that manipulation.

[Question] Give some example of the abuse of psychiatry in the name of ideology.

[Answer] A few years ago the psychiatrists in the Soviet Union proclaimed General Grigorenko to be mentally ill and "legally incompetent," and the line of argument came down to his having been inclined toward reforms! And the bill recently proposed in Serbia that teachers could be sent for psychiatric

examinations at the request of local political institutions or individuals is a pronounced example of attempts to abuse psychiatry.... Here again the explanation was nonsensical: to protect the pupils from possible bad upbringing from their teachers! If that was the reason, then certainly the politicians should also be sent for examinations, since they certainly exert a more essential influence on people's opinions and dispositions. The strategy of that kind of policy actually was and still is to preserve the functions of the present system in which psychiatrists are installed as obedient figures, so that the prevailing ideology is able to get a great deal of help from them. It was in view of such examples that I wrote that my colleagues often behave like policemen on behalf of society except that they have a bit more education.

[Question] Critics of traditional psychiatry, you included, feel that a person's behavior can be evaluated accurately only if his social network is studied in detail. Since we will be using this concept and term later in the interview, please define it more precisely.

[Answer] Well, the social network is the framework of people's ties in space, which are represented by imaginary straight lines signifying common content. It is a question of separate goals which are held in common or of people who come into loose and random contact or of people who share a work activity. The network should be conceived as a steady stream of interrelations of those people, and at the same time one must ascertain who is affecting whom, the purpose of the activity, and the sensitivity of those being affected. One of the essential tasks of network analysis lies in eliminating atonement for the sins of others.

[Question] In the opinion of some of your colleagues who are representatives of social psychiatry, that network extends even to more considerable groups of people, to large agglomerations, while for some sociologists, McLuhan, for example, the entire world is a village or network.

[Answer] I do not agree with them. They have even gone so far as to equate a large network with a mass society. It would perhaps be more accurate to say a "society of the mass," but let us stick with this customary term. In my opinion there is a great difference here. Interactions exist and are maintained in the group and the network, in the group differentiations are possible.... That is not true in the mass society. It abolishes every individual action, all human ontological content. Like any authoritarian society, the mass society determines everything in advance and condemns every act of the individual in advance.... That is why he is powerless to do anything, his initiatives and urges do not evoke a response, and that makes him still more unhappy. The mass society drags the individual along with it just as the current of a river carries along a mass of diverse material, a large quantity of fish and other life, and it is insensitive to all of that content which it carries within itself. Thus even in a mass society there prevails an utter lack of understanding between people, mutual communication is cut off.... And they would not dare to understand one another even if they wanted to.

[Question] The sociologist Vladimir Arzenek believes that Yugoslav society is a mass society....

[Answer] All mass societies are based on the principles and ideas of alchemy. That ideological principle is proclaimed to be exclusive, wise, and holy, and all others become second-rate.... And they are fiercely disputed.

Industrially advanced societies, for example, are based on the principle of large output and high earnings. Aside from that they are not interested in anything else.... For Yugoslav society the principle of self-management is an exclusive philosophers' stone which is supposedly the basis for solving everything. No one questions that self-management represents a certain level of democratization and humanization of social relations. But it would be harmful to reduce all relations in society, and indeed one's view of the world or even political view solely to self-management.

[Question] In what sense?

[Answer] In the sense that it implies that democracy and freedom are one and the same thing. But these are not the same categories at all. Self-management can be some kind of basis on which the relations in society can be founded, and it could also denominate certain forms of freedoms. However, that social aspect places a condition on freedom through certain principles which have priority and are inviolable. And as soon as any principle is proclaimed to be untouchable, inviolable, differentiation, that is, human ontology, is lost. In addition, the idea of self-management is abused. The bodies of self-management are used like the chorus by the ancient Greeks: it never utters the basic thought of the member of the chorus, but is used for vocal imposition and emphasis of the ideas and demands of individuals and groups. The basic point of departure and true character of self-management are lost in that way. So, I repeat, there cannot be one solution for everything.

Scientists and journalist have contributed to that illusion to a great extent, since for years they have been involved in a definite brainwashing. Very often--identifying themselves fully with the ideology--they have created a kind of self-censorship and communicate only what is favorable to the ideology. We should be aware that there are no ideologies without faults, and certainly the greatest is that every ideology is utterly intolerant of others and accepts only what is said in favor of its system.

[Question] Which is why the ideologues keep such a close watch on the mass media?

[Answer] Yes, of course. In fact it is through them that they establish standards and criteria with nothing more than words, in neglect of the facts. And that has left baneful consequences: it has frustrated creation of the citizen's critical awareness. After all, without critical thought there is no progress at all, and critical thought, regardless of how powerful it is, does not exist if it is not communicated and has no support in the public information media.

[Question] Nevertheless, over the last 10 years Yugoslav scientists have written dozens of critical studies, and over the last 5 or 6 there have been critical reflections of that kind even in the press.

[Answer] That is true. But it is also true that those critical studies were not published before completion of the construction and full accomplishment of the system of the mass society, in which communications are broken off even between natural allies, and the possibility of joint action to defend not only the class interest, but indeed the professional interest, is reduced to the smallest possible measure.

[Question] Do you think that this is the main reason why many recommendations of the experts as to how to get out of the crisis cannot be transferred into practical measures?

[Answer] That is one of the reasons, but I am not certain that it is the main one. What is more, I think that the failure of their solutions should rather be looked for in the argument that human nature is the basic element of society's construction, that is, that man has built social systems to meet his needs. That idea is utterly mistaken, or, as a matter of fact, it is an outright lie.... Many societies can be imagined and built fully on the principles of arbitrariness in interpretation of social existence. Modern societies have demonstrated unambiguously that certain political groups can program social systems philosophically, can project total fabrications of life and existence under just one condition: the use of aggression. Sometimes that is force, which simulates strength, totalitarian and invincible, but sometimes it is dispersed to the point of cybernetic extension into all social strata. The movement away from the truth concerning human nature is in fact based on the false idea that man's nature is the fundamental underpinning of social systems.

[Question] Many people will not agree with your position that man is not a social creature and that his sociality does not say much about true human nature.

[Answer] I know that they won't.... The common trait and fundamental feature of all systems, from mythology to theology, by way of history to economic science, is sometimes expressed even in a very conscious mistake whereby certain forms of human behavior are proclaimed to be human destiny and the structure of existence and true human identity. This conception has a very practical genesis, which makes it possible for the entire potential of human nature to be crammed into the space of the respective society. Living in a group and compelled to look to others, a man systematizes his actions and activity, evinces a particular behavior.... But that cannot be his essence. Man's true essence is his nature, not his behavior. And that is why the most essential and profound essence is still his own loneliness.

That is why the human drama has always been based, from the first steps of self-awareness to today's ontological and anthropological theorems, on the conflict between the individual and collective, between the personal and the general in man and in the world. All art, all religions, and all histories

prove this. It is from that basis that the theory of alienation was in fact derived, a theory which seeks man's salvation in a return to the original "self."

[Question] If man is what he is not, what he has not displayed, and what he still does not know of, and what by all appearances we never will become aware of, in what scientific disciplines, as you see it, have they gone furthest from the truth about human nature?

[Answer] It is difficult to say in which it has gone the furthest, but in many that truth is indeed far away. In certain cognitive processes, for example, in sociology, the thought is exhausted in illuminating its own structure and a sterile play of consciousness, so that it is defective both as a concept and as an attitude concerning human existence. That is the science of the group, of mass phenomena, which almost completely neglects the individual in that mass. The defectiveness of sociological analyses is all the greater because many sociologists know nothing at all about the structure of man nor indeed about his evil. They are interested in only what man displays in the group, and what happens in the group is not the same thing as what is happening in the individual.

...The science of economics is in and of itself rational and particular, so that as an undertaking it immediately turns against man's essence, which is basically very unpragmatic.

...The writing of history is solemnly proclaimed to contain supposed knowledge about man, but mainly it offers the truth of the victor--instead of the all-inclusive picture which is the only scientific one.

[Question] Can history be rationally explained?

[Answer] No. Everyone who has attempted it has failed. History is full of inexplicable events, and unfortunately it is usually explained on the basis of ideology and bias. Just take a look at the textbooks in this subject, and you will immediately see that every country that participated in one and the same event, some international conflict, gives an altogether different account of it. Those historians have gone deepest and have been most truthful in explaining events who have concerned themselves with the irrational motives not only of individuals, but also of certain groupings, and indeed of an entire nation. And the deeper the thinker he has been, the more deeply he has penetrated precisely those elements of the particular event.

In human history major bloodbaths have occurred rather frequently, and yet this cannot be explained on rational grounds, just as one cannot explain what is happening at the moment in India.... In a quiet and peaceful country, where until recently the Gandhian principle of "do not touch the other person" prevailed, now all of a sudden resounds with gunfire, assassination attempts are coming one after the other, and terrorism is on the rise.... It is not possible to explain all this merely by some kind of nationalism on the part of the Sikhs. Social conditions are not worse now than they were 20 years ago, when good was used to fight against evil, and when goodness was the only

weapon to make evil stand out still more. The blood that is now being shed in those groups and networks is incomprehensible and can be explained only in terms of a human evil which is set in motion inexplicably. There have been such examples and similar ones and wanderings of history, and they will continue as long as man survives....

[Question] Do you mean to say that the secrets of revolutions do not lie entirely in economic and political reasons?

[Answer] Yes. I would rather say that the reasons are of a moral nature, or at least quite close to it, but in essence they are very irrational. Ideologues make a mistake when they say that people favor this or that ideology because it proclaims rational goals. On the contrary, only those ideologies which open up breaches for irrational behavior will attract any large number of people. Witness the present floodtide of Islam in the world.

[Question] ...And that was the way in which the Reich explained the mass psychology of fascism....

[Answer] By and large. It stressed that the irrational category had decisive importance to the victory of fascism. At that time, for example, there were famous philosophers, university professors, or famous writers speaking somewhere at one and the same time.... And they were interpreting very precisely the situation at the time and rational ways of getting out of it. There was an audience of slightly more than a dozen intellectuals there to hear them. Somewhere else at the same time, in some beerhall in Munich, a sausagemaker was saying something which had nothing whatsoever to do with either grammar or logic, which no one understood, not even he himself. He was simply shouting out some concepts that had no true meaning, but an immense mass of people listened to him and acclaimed him enthusiastically. Why? Because he was communicating with them irrationally, because he was calling upon them to display their aggressiveness. And one of the deepest irrational human needs is for aggression and destruction. It has set people in motion more frequently and easily than the idea of construction! I know that many people will be horrified at this assertion, but revolts, cases of violence and destruction have been the basic driving forces of such revolutions in world history. Great revolutions are unthinkable without envy. And destruction carries within it content which is very close to the realization of envy.

[Question] Revolutions have been differently interpreted from the standpoint of history?

[Answer] Regardless of history's viewpoint and of the progressive motives of the rebels, revolutions usually bring down one evil and bring in another. In any case, the original meaning of the word revolution (from the Latin *revolo* [sic]) is "eternal return of the same thing," and it was first used in astronomy for the circular movements in space. Copernicus called his principal work "*De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*." But let us go back to historical experience. Revolutions carry out aggression, they destroy one set and series of values, and, most tragic of all, they also destroy a large number of people. Aside from that, in a time of disorder people easily display their

ontological content. And, as I have said, one of the basic human contents is aggression, and it liberates itself much more rapidly in a group.

[Question] You are convinced that the mistakes of the programmed sociological systems and societies are in fact based on this disagreement between man's essence and his behavior, between his ontological being and the social structure?

[Answer] Yes, I am. There is a need in sociology to stop a bit and open up investigations of the true ontology....

[Question] Well, why is this not done?

[Answer] Because this is a very difficult and crucial job, one in which it would not be possible for a lot of people to talk so arbitrarily and fashionably about everything, most frequently about pseudo things. But so long as man is treated as a social being, it is allowable and possible for political parties to be concerned with him. That is why politicians are more involved in reflections about man and society than are philosophers and anthropologists.

[Question] If we accept your opinion that man is not only a social being, but also lives according to certain of his irrational, but essential needs, what, then, as far as you can see, are his most essential ontological characteristics?

[Answer] On the basis of my experience, they are freedom, hope, faith, and aggression.

[Question] The sociological concepts of freedom vary greatly from one social system to another?

[Answer] When I say freedom, I am not thinking of freedom as the result and consequence of human development, but of that freedom which the human being wishes to display. In an ontological categorization freedom cannot be socially conditioned, since that kind of freedom actually represents a manipulation of the content of the human being. Man's freedom is defined as the need for a particular ideology and within the framework of that ideology. However, freedom is something much deeper. It is always choice. And that choice may be suffering and a bit of hell, just as it may be a choice of contentment and happiness. So, a freedom that consists of voluntary and unimposed choice in every situation and at every moment.

[Question] In short, the neglect of man's irrational characteristics makes it more difficult for scientists to interpret human actions accurately?

[Answer] If man were only a reasonable being, then we would have to ask ourselves: Why in highly educated and civilized countries are there so many different religions? Why in the West are people seeking identification with Buddha, while in the East an increasingly large number are looking to Christ!? Why is it that not only Isabel Peron, but also certain very well-known present-day European statesmen, who are supposed to be top-flight intellectuals,

sneak off to various "prophets" and fortune-tellers for advice? We would also have to ask ourselves about the origin of the mass need for films of violence, bloodshed, and destruction.

[Question] Thinking men have always been interested in why revolutions which had very humanistic demands and programs ended so often in bonapartism and czarism? Why do the new "people's leaders and managers" revive the repressive forms of behavior themselves?

[Answer] A pernicious passion is at the basis of all those restorations of both czarism and bonapartism, and that is a passion to rule people....

[Question] In your study "Socioloski aspekti agresivnosti" [Sociological Aspects of Aggressiveness] you say that passion came from aggressiveness and that aggressiveness is older even than man.

[Answer] It would take me much more time and space to explain the phenomenon of aggressiveness in any detail. After consulting many anthropologists, and also on the basis of what I have seen myself, I have become convinced that aggression is in fact inherent in organic matter, that it exists regardless of experience and without any sort of structural adaptation. Since it is dispersed and unenclosed in the deepest stratum of what is organic, it is also free. It is independent, it is easily moved, it is mobilized still more easily, it is not consumable, and it is unreliable. That is why introducing moralistic and value criteria into the permanent flow of an autonomous essence that is deeper than the being itself disguises not only the original content of aggression, but also that very being. So that when we speak of human aggression, we have to know and acknowledge that it cannot be taken separately from the constant, persistent and deliberate action to destroy other beings.

[Question] As you spoke about the passion to subjugate others I recalled the confession which Jiang Qing (Mao Zedong's wife) once made to the wife of the famous sinologist Edgar Snow. At the time of the cultural revolution she shouted from the balcony of her office and encouraged a mob of young people to go and destroy "all traces of capitalism," and then returned to her chambers, put on a mousseline dress, poured out some French cognac and watched films with Rudolf Valentino! The dumbfounded Mrs Snow asked her how she accounted for that duality of her personality. Instead of answering directly, Djijang Cing said: "You have no idea what a pleasure it is to rule people! In the morning I often wake up aching and feeling bad. But as soon as I remember how I can play with the destinies of others, all of a sudden I feel much more lively in spirit and body."

[Answer] That story is completely comprehensible to us psychiatrists. Every passion becomes dulled and is lost with use.... Even love toward one's wife and children, if it is realized and totally accepted, becomes fatiguing with time.... Only the passion to rule people becomes stronger with use. And that feature of power that it gains strength with use is in actuality its tragedy as well. Knowing that, great and wise peoples, who have survived the illness of irrational experience, have imposed great limitations upon power.

[Question] By the great nations you seem to imply those which have had a "less rich" history, without great dramas and spiritual upheavals?

[Answer] I am thinking of those peoples which through Protestantism and its principles, through their own attitude toward an irrationality like Christianity, have rid themselves of irrational categories to the maximum possible degree. In so doing they have imparted great order in their spiritual life. Protestantism was not just a manner of religious expression, it also became a way of life. It would be hard to find a better match or greater harmony than that between a rational social system like capitalism and an irrational category like Christianity. Often even the richest of the Protestants lead modest and unpretentious lives.

Life follows just the opposite course in the countries which in politics have so-called "real" socialism, the kind that a man like Dostoyevski had a malicious presentiment of, but unfortunately he was right on the mark. This is essentially a rational principle that has been twisted, one which has made it possible for people to behave very irrationally. When the "ordinary people" are barely able to meet their everyday needs, the leaders live an inconceivably luxurious life outside of any true ethics or common sense. In such an irrational society, which is also narcissistic, solutions appropriate to human needs and human sufferings cannot be anticipated.

[Question] Is it possible to set up a real system of values in narcissoid societies?

[Answer] Absolutely not. Present-day society has offered a multitude of evidence of the firm tie between narcissoidism and the system of values. In the modern world every leader is met with applause for his "constant contributions and success in building society and the country's prosperity." The people around the leader know very well what humors his narcissoid nature and personality, and they serve it up to him day after day. Emotional and rational underpinning supports not only the leader's mental balance, but indeed the entire social network and an entire system. Someone else's narcissoid nature is enhanced so that his own might be humored. It is no longer the individual that is the subject of narcissoidism, but the group and indeed an entire political movement, with which the leader shares his destiny, glory, mind, and power.

[Question] Which is why many members of the movement feel themselves to be important and chosen members of society in closed party meetings...?

[Answer] Those are precisely the reasons. Group narcissoidism advances solidarity and the internal cohesion of the network, and that not only facilitates manipulation, but at the same time it also eliminates the anxiety and fear of the group. This also has social value because in a narcissistic group the weak become strong; the half-educated and uncertain have a feeling of increased value, and those who are anxious relax.... Aside from that, the group gives a certain feeling of false equality (that equality is not a derived and cultivated category at all, but a very irrational and profound human need), which in fact makes a social and intellectual flatland. In such a group a

cleaningwoman or some unskilled worker can profoundly disturb the life of some expert out of pure envy by not picking him for a place which suits him and all of this in the name of the idea that everyone can do everything, that all are wise and know everything. That idea has its origins in the narcissoidism, and it constitutes a resolution of the envy complex.

[Question] That idea that everyone can do everything, provided, of course, that they are "politically reliable," comes from Bolshevik ideology.... To what extent do you agree with the thesis that "communists are people of a special stamp"?

[Answer] They are indeed people of a special stamp. Since on a European scale there is a type of man who has been formed and formulated on certain principles, there are only two: one is the Christian (I do not mean in the civic sense), and the other, although not altogether explicit and complete, but he has had a historical role, that is the Bolshevik man. By contrast with the Christian man, who has accepted the irrational and incorporated it into all his criteria, who does not hide his shortcomings and his vulnerability, the Bolshevik is made of iron. He is devoid of all irrational tensions within himself, he rejects every other faith except only one, he renounces everything, indeed even his own identity. The Bolshevik type is not a man of conviction, but a man of belonging, a kind of artificial Prometheus of mass production whose role is to repeat the story about changing the world.

[Question] Is the idea that the world is undergoing change from its foundations at all feasible?

[Answer] I do not think so. What is more, it is essentially paranoid. After all, the world is not made exclusively according to desires, but also according to all the things we have been talking about so far. So stubborn insistence on some kind of radical change of man has left a legacy of an infinite list of the dead, while some of the living have gone as far as possible from the normal man. Marx could not have dreamed that force would be used in a communist system, and he would have been the last to advocate it. Nevertheless, the Bolshevik man is a man devoted to the use of force, who has renounced even his parents on behalf of certain "higher goals," some kind of "better and more just world," killed them and danced on their graves, argued that even the death of his own child, which is one of the most earthshaking things for any normal man, means nothing! He has renounced not only his own identity, but also the life principle, and that is why it is no wonder that the rule has emerged in Bolshevik ideology as the basic principle: that the end justifies all the means. Those who have carried out the greatest dehumanization of society have had the most to say about humanism.

[Question] What similarities are there in a psychological sense between the Bolshevik man and the social Narcissus?

[Answer] There is a great deal. Still more accurately: they are not similar, they are the same. After all, only an insensitive and selfish person could easily sacrifice the lives of others in order to change the world and "make it happy."

[Question] You say that our society is also a narcissoid society?

[Answer] Well, haven't you noticed yourself the extent to which the official propaganda spiel about our achievements differs from the level of our entire existence? And that is the most obvious sign of a society's narcissoidism. In the past Yugoslavs have undoubtedly achieved several important undertakings: On 27 March 1941 a small and backward nation rose up against a great and organized force; later that same people also rose up in rebellion, while all of Europe was bowing under; in 1948 it dared to say no to Stalin, and in the fifties it began to carry out the idea of self-management. Those are all, I repeat, great deeds, but later, through the ideology, they have been so idealized that it leads a Yugoslav to some kind of internal feeling that he is all but some kind of chosen people.

Yugoslav society therefore has a very high opinion not only of its own past, but also of the system which it has created. After all, how otherwise can you interpret a situation in which a society goes on functioning peacefully even though that system has brought about the most profound social crisis and, I would say, a disintegration of certain basic moral and human values and principles, while the present institutional arrangements and features of the system are persistently defended and proclaim to be the basic values of society!? Looked at logically, this is nonsense. But it is deliberate.... And there is nothing more dangerous than deliberate nonsense.

[Question] And what is your explanation for all that?

[Answer] There is one and only one explanation: Yugoslav society is a mass ideological society and, as I have said, a narcissoid society. On the basis of theory and practical observations, people and groups are formed in those societies who do not come up to the positions which they occupy, in which there is no true verification of their attributes, in which there is no public responsibility for their accomplishments or actions. Of all the abilities they might have, they usually have only one: Everything is clear to them, they are more powerful than the people, more powerful even than the truth. The need of those groups is portrayed as the need of society and as the desire of every individual.

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